





PERSONAL HISTORY

OF

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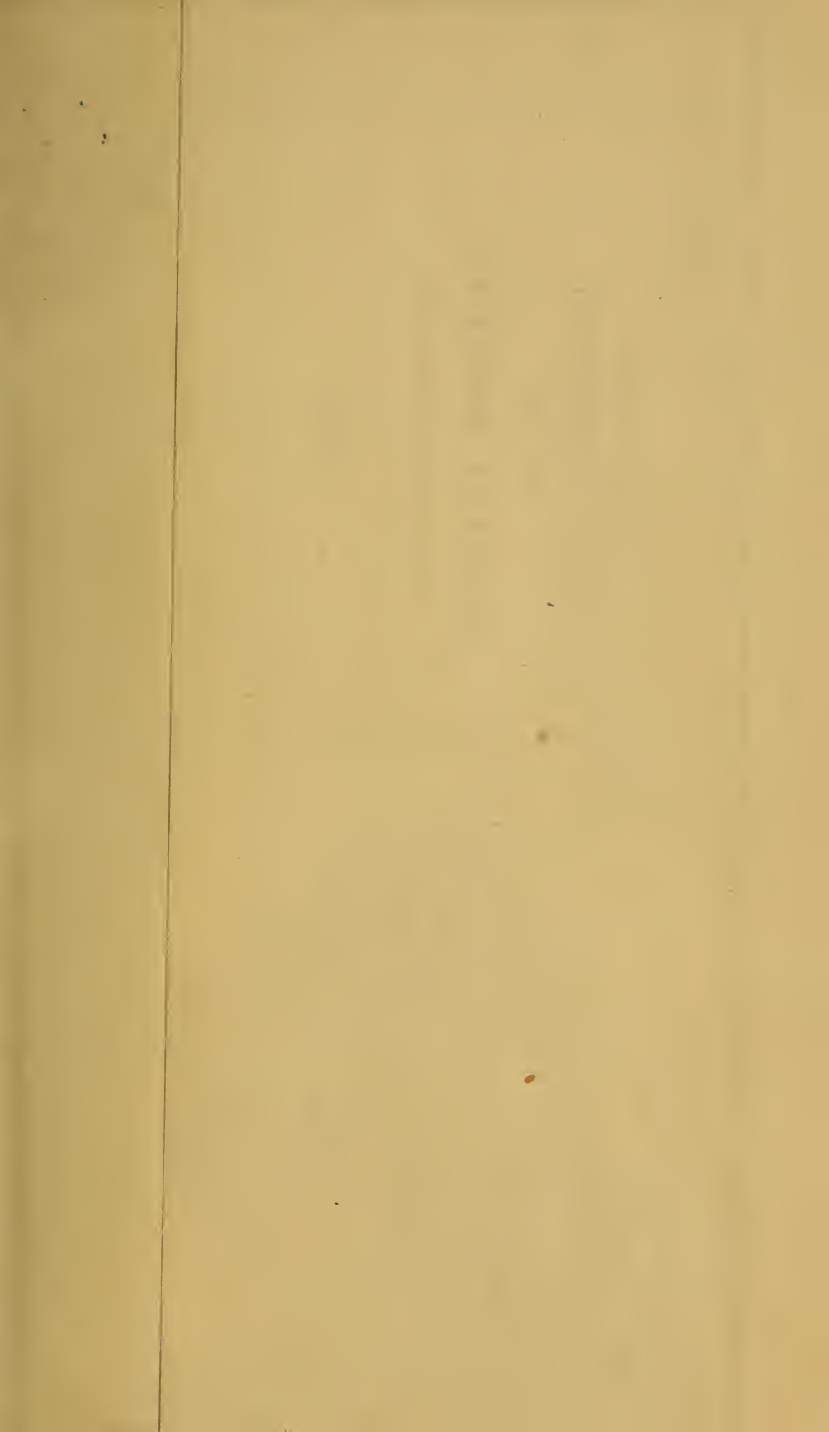
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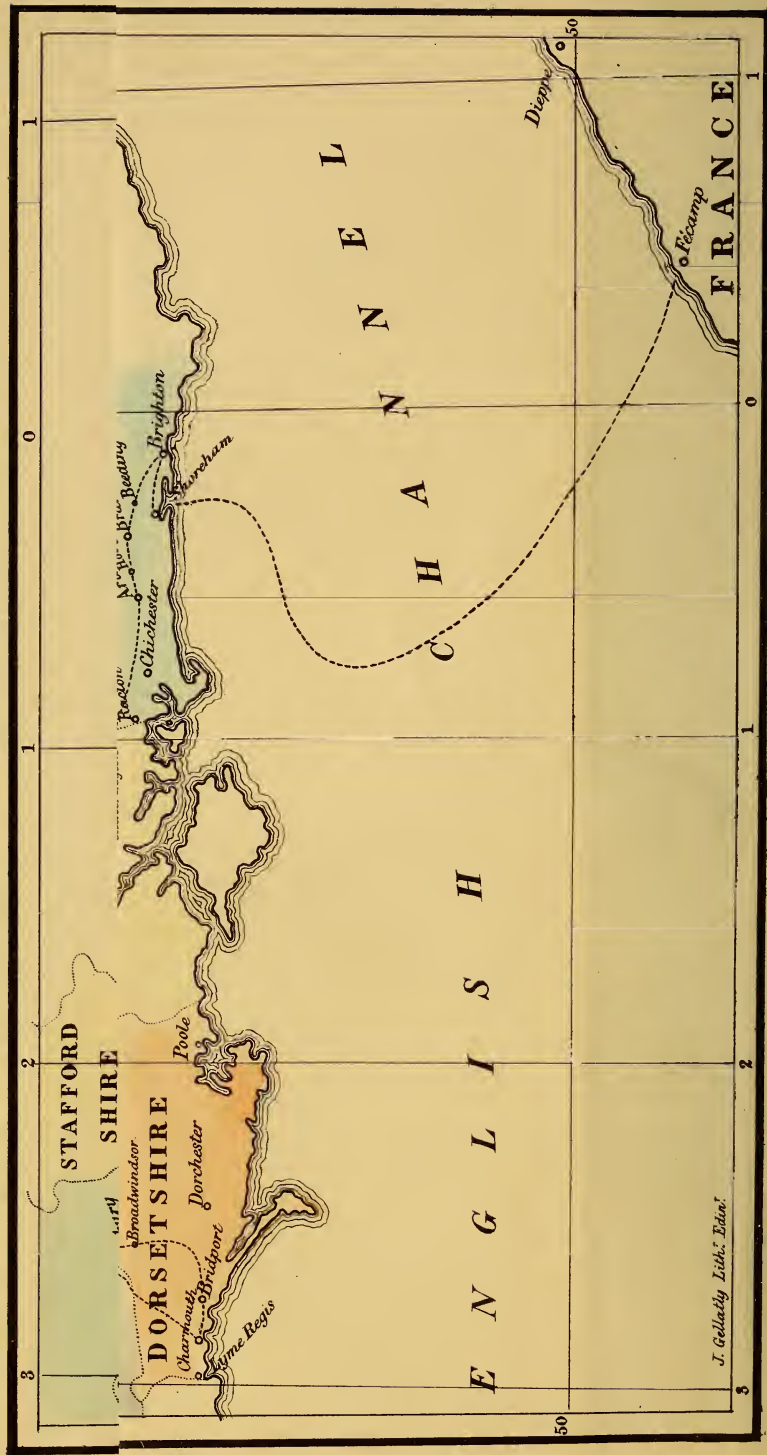
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ROUTE OF
KING CHARLES II.
after the
BATTLE OF WORCESTER,
In September & October 1651.





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PERSONAL HISTORY
OF
KING CHARLES THE SECOND,

FROM
HIS LANDING IN SCOTLAND, ON JUNE 23. 1650, TILL
HIS ESCAPE OUT OF ENGLAND, OCTOBER 15. 1651.

WITH
AN OUTLINE OF HIS LIFE,
IMMEDIATELY BEFORE AND AFTER THESE DATES.

BY THE
REV. C. J. ^{Charles} LYON, M. A., CANTAB.
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THIS
PERSONAL HISTORY OF KING CHARLES II.

WHILE IN SCOTLAND,

IS MOST RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED,

BY

THE AUTHOR.

P R E F A C E.

My reasons for obtruding this History on public attention, are, *first*—the instructive nature of the subject itself, as hinted in the annexed motto; and, *secondly*—this portion of history comprehends, within the space of sixteen months, a series of very interesting events, which are not generally known or understood, because they have before been, as far as I know, separately investigated.

The Outline of Charles's Life, both before and after his visit to Scotland, will be found to contain some curious extracts from the Memoirs of that lively, though volatile, writer, his own fair cousin Mademoiselle de Montpensier.

I have not scrupled to quote copiously from the documents of the period, as not only affording the best authority for the facts belonging to it, but as bringing those facts, together with the opinions of the age, more vividly before the reader. The only liberty I have taken with those documents is, that I have sometimes modernized the spelling—amended the punctuation, when the sense manifestly required it—or introduced a parenthesis, in order to render the writer's meaning more obvious.

The IMPRESSION of this Work has been limited to Two HUNDRED AND FIFTY COPIES.

C. B. L.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
DEDICATION,	iii
PREFACE,	v
OUTLINE OF KING CHARLES II.'s LIFE BEFORE GOING TO SCOTLAND, .	xiii
INTRODUCTION,	1

MARCH, APRIL, MAY, and beginning of JUNE 1650,

Scots Commissioners sent to Treat with Charles at Breda, . . .	1
Terms which they offered to him—Remarks,	2
A Public Fast in Scotland, and why?	4
Prevalence of Witchcraft, Fanaticism, and Immorality, . . .	4
Rigid Observance of Sunday,	8
Topics introduced into the Pulpits,	9
Severity of the Kirk Courts,	10
Punishments inflicted on offenders,	11
True motives of the Covenanters in bringing Charles to Scotland, .	12
Duplicity deemed lawful to attain certain ends,	14
The Commissioners are introduced to the King at Breda, . . .	16
Rev. J. Livingstone's Speech to him,	17
Charles's Courtesy to the Presbyterian Ministers,	18
Intrigues and parties at Breda,	19
Livingstone's complaints and perplexities,	20
The King no less perplexed,	20
He at last agrees to go to Scotland,	21
The Ministers object to his Communicating in a Kneeling Posture, .	22
Names and Character of the Cavaliers who were with the King, .	23
They and some of the Commissioners embark,	25
Fresh Instructions come from Scotland,	25
The King embarks,	26
Ludicrous dilemma of some of the Commissioners,	26
Livingstone determines not to go with the rest, but is entrapped on board, 27	
Charles, when at Sea, refuses to Sign the Covenant,	28
At last he yields—Reflections,	28
He escapes the English Fleet, and arrives in Scotland,	31
Livingstone's Letter to the Rev. Robert Douglas,	32
Charles lands at Speymouth—is taken to the Bog of Gicht, . . .	32

PERSONAL HISTORY OF KING CHARLES THE SECOND,	33
--	----

END OF JUNE 1650.

The Commissioners' Letter to the Magistrates of Aberdeen, . . .	33
Charles's Route to Aberdeen,	34
Pitcaple—Reception at Aberdeen—the "Maiden,"	34
Mangled Leg of the Marquis of Montrose,	35
The Commission of Assembly's Act against Malignants,	36
Loyalty of the bulk of the Scots people,	36
The Parliament's Deputation to the King,	37
They order his Suite to be dismissed,	37

Some of them nevertheless remain,	PAGE 38
" Committee of Estates " and " Commission of Assembly,"	38
Behaviour to the King—his Body-guard, and Revenue,	39
His Route from Aberdeen to Dunottar and Kinnaird House,	40
His arrival at Dudhope Castle,	41

JULY 1650.

He meets Livingstone at Dundee,	41
Goes to St Andrews—S. Rutherford and R. Blair,	42
His entertainment at Cupar-Fife—Falkland,	42
A General Assembly at Edinburgh—its Acts,	43
Letters from the poet Cowley at Paris concerning the King,	44
Treatment of the King at Falkland—Sunday rigours,	47
Long Sermons—Anecdote—Earl of Carnwath,	47
King's Private Letter to the Duke of Hamilton,	50
His moral character at this time,	51
Cromwell prepares to invade Scotland,	52
His March, and Proclamation " to the Saints in Scotland,"	53
Defensive Preparations by the Scots—General Lesley,	54
Position of the two Armies near Edinburgh,	55
Cromwell's Character,	55
The King at Perth, Dunfermline, and Stirling,	57
He goes to the army at Edinburgh—reception there,	58
His Proclamation to the English Army,	58
Two encounters between the hostile Armies—a Fast, and why ?	59
Result of these encounters,	60

AUGUST 1650.

The King reviews the Scots army on the Links at Leith,	61
He is feasted in Edinburgh,	61
Obliged to leave the army, and goes to Dunfermline,	62
His Private Letter to the Duke of Hamilton,	62
" Purgation " of the Scottish army,	63
Cromwell retires to Dunbar, but returns,	64
Distress of the country,	64
Letter from S. Rutherford to Colonel Ker,	65
The King refuses to sign the " Dunfermline Declaration,"	66
" West Kirk Act "—its chief promoters,	67
Another Private Letter to the Duke of Hamilton,	68
King signs the " Dunfermline Declaration," and goes to Perth,	70
Its contents—remarks upon it by the English,	71
By Sir Edward Nicholas—and by modern writers,	72
The King destined to undergo a public penance, and why ?—Remarks, .	74
Another Letter to the Duke of Hamilton,	75
Cromwell withdraws to Dunbar—followed by Lesley,	76

SEPTEMBER 1650.

Position of the two armies—instances of fanaticism,	76
Charles's Letter to Sir E. Nicholas,	79
Battle of Dunbar—Cromwell's Letters—his inhumanity,	80

Commissioner Jaffray—Dr John Owen,	PAGE 82
Cromwell's disposal of his wounded prisoners,	83
Miss Murray's kindness to them,	84
Behaviour and treatment of the prisoners on their march through England,	85
Subscription in Scotland for their relief,	85
Another Letter from S. Rutherford to Colonel Ker,	86
The King receives the news of the Defeat at Dunbar,	87
His pretended grief, yet benefited by it,	88
Cromwell takes possession of Edinburgh—Correspondence with the Scots Ministers,	89
Language used by the Assembly's Commission,	91
"Thirteen Reasons" alleged for the Divine displeasure,	92
An English Independent's view of this subject,	93
The "Thirteen Reasons" give offence to many Presbyterians,	95
The Rev. James Wood—an English preacher—groaning in church,	96
The Marquis of Argyll wants the King to marry his daughter,	97
The King's promise to him,	98
More of the King's suite removed,	99
Sir Edward Walker—treatment of the King at this time,	100
His Private Letter to the Duke of Hamilton,	101

OCTOBER 1650.

Charles afraid for his life—His Letters to some of his friends,	101
His "Start" from Perth to Dudhope and Cortachy,	103
His plan defeated—Reaches Clova, but returns,	105
Confesses his sin and is absolved, but not so his coadjutors,	107
Letter from Dan. O'Neil in reference to this,	109
Letter from the poet Cowley on the same subject,	110
Cromwell's Letter to the Committee of Estates,	111
Four Independent Armies now in Scotland,	112
The English, Presbyterian, Highland, and Westland,	113
Highland Army defeats the Presbyterian General Brown—Treaty with it,	114
General Middleton excommunicated by Mr J. Guthrie,	116
The Rev. Messrs Cant's advice to General Lesley,	117
The Westland Army—its leaders, and their opinions,	117
Its "Remonstrance" to the Committee of Estates,	119
Its disregard of the King,	122

NOVEMBER 1650.

Judgment on the "Remonstrance" by the Estates, and by the Kirk,	123
King's Letter to the Marquis of Ormond,	124
New Session of Parliament—King's hypocritical speech,	125
Three Fasts appointed—Remarks—General Lesley's conduct at Dunbar,	126
Commission of Assembly's Petition and Remonstrance,	127
Resistance made by the Scots to the English,	128
Cromwell's Proclamation against the robbing and murdering of his Sol- diers,	129
Reply to the above Petition and Remonstrance,	129
Ambiguous Character of this Reply,	131
Colonels Ker and Strachan,	132

Defeat and Dispersion of the Westland Army at Hamilton,	PAGE 132
Cromwell in Glasgow—Aneecdote,	133
Zachary Boyd and Hugh Binning,	134

DECEMBER 1650.

Proposal to admit " Malignants " into the Army,	135
Approved by the majority, but keenly opposed by the minority,	137
Resolutioners and Protesters,	138
Hypocritical compliances,	139
Earls of Lauderdale and Crawford,	140
Ineffectual remedies to check vice,	141
Degraded condition of the country,	141
Fasts, especially one " for the King's Family,"	142
" Twelve Causes " for this Fast—Christmas Day,	144
Nicoll's melancholy reflections at the close of this year,	146

JANUARY 1651.

Abbey Church, and Palace of Scone,	147
Details of the King's Coronation,	148
Mr R. Douglas's Sermon—League and Covenant,	150
Coronation Oath—Reflections,	152
Farther details of the Coronation,	154
Aneecdote of the King and Argyll,	159
Attempts to assassinate the King,	159
A " Remonstrance " and a " Warning,"	160
Conference at St Andrews betwixt the Resolutioners and Protesters,	161
General Middleton absolved—Colonel Strachan and others excommunicated,	162
Letter to Sir E. Nicholas—State of the King's Army,	162

FEBRUARY 1651.

King's Army strengthened—Letter to Marquis of Ormond,	164
Feud betwixt Hamilton and Argyll—Sir R. Fanshawe,	165
Messrs J. Guthrie and D. Bennet impeached,	167
They are condemned by the Standards of their Kirk, yet leniently treated,	168
Hume and Tantallon Castles fall—King's Excursion into Fife,	170
His interview with Mr R. Blair,	171
Entertained at Pittenweem,	171
Review of Soldiers—Their refractory conduct,	173
King at Aberdeen—Returns to Perth—Dutch Envoy,	174

MARCH 1651.

Letter from Sir E. Nicholas—Cromwell's Illness,	175
Intolerance of the Assembly's Commission,	176
Cromwell's Progress—The Garrison of Stirling,	177
Proposed Repeal of " The Act of Classes,"	179
Disgraceful nature of this Act,	179
New Session of Parliament,	180
Lords Burleigh, Loudon, and Lothian,	181

CONTENTS.

xi

APRIL 1651.

Dumbarton taken, with Lord Eglinton and his Son, . . .	PAGE 183
Two Letters from the Rev. Mr Baillie to Lord Lauderdale, . . .	183
Affair at Linlithgow—Cromwell in Glasgow, . . .	184
Sermons Preached against him there—Anecdote, . . .	184
Reinforcement of royalist Officers from Holland, . . .	187

MAY 1651.

Scots Army constituted—Letters from Perth, . . .	187
King's good sense and activity—Affair at Kirkaldy, . . .	188
"Act of Classes" repealed, . . .	190
Increased animosity between the Resolutioners and Protesters, . . .	190
Duke of Hamilton's penance, . . .	191
Celebration of King's Birth-day—Dundee, . . .	191

JUNE 1651.

Cromwell's Recovery—Position of the two Armies, . . .	192
Marching and Countermarching, . . .	193

JULY 1651.

Field of Bannockburn, . . .	194
Part of the English Army crosses the Forth, . . .	194
Battle of Dunfermline—Its results, . . .	195
Cromwell's Letters on the subject, . . .	195
General Assembly at St Andrews—Party wranglings, . . .	196
The Assembly, afraid of Cromwell's approach, adjourns to Dundee, . . .	198
Farther proceedings there, . . .	199
Subsequent conduct of the Resolutioners and Protesters, . . .	200
Irregular movements of the Scots army, . . .	202
A Letter from Cromwell, . . .	203
Duke of Hamilton's Letter to his Niece, . . .	205
The King marches for England, . . .	205

AUGUST 1651.

Followed by Generals Lambert and Harrison, . . .	206
And by Cromwell himself—Line of March, . . .	207
Carlisle—Royal Proclamation—Discipline, . . .	207
Letters from Lords Lauderdale and Wentworth, and Duke of Hamilton, to their friends, . . .	208
Black Dub—Letter from the regicide General Harrison—Remarks, . . .	211
The Covenant causes more divisions among the King's troops, . . .	213
General Massey and Earl of Derby, . . .	213
Affair at Warrington Bridge—Shrewsbury, and Chirk Castle, . . .	214
Duke of Buckingham and Lesley, . . .	215
Comparison between Charles II. and his grand-nephew Prince Charles, . . .	215
Earl of Derby's defeat and escape—Boscobel, . . .	216
Parliamentary forces—Worcester—Pitchcroft, . . .	217
Mr Crosby's Sermon in Worcester Cathedral, . . .	218
Plans of attack and defence, . . .	219

SEPTEMBER 1651.

Night attack by General Middleton—Bridge of Powick,	PAGE 220
Fort Royal stormed—Battle of Worcester,	220
Duke of Hamilton mortally wounded—King's bravery,	221
Sir A. Forbes—King and others compelled to fly,	222
Cromwell's Letters—Loss on both sides,	223
Treatment of Royalist prisoners—the King and his Suite,	224
White-Ladies House—Lesley and his followers,	226
Sir Robert and Lady Fanshawe in London,	229
The brothers Penderill—King disguised,	232
Lord Wilmot—Boscobel wood—King goes to Madeley—Evelyn Mill,	233
Mr Wolf—King returns to Boscobel,	234
Priest Huddleston—Major Carlis—Royal Oak,	236
Humphrey Penderill—King rides to Mosely,	238
Mr Whitgrave—Narrow escapes—Romish books,	241
Huddleston's pupils—King goes to Bentley—Colonel Lane,	246
Future history of the Penderills and of Huddleston,	247
King, Miss Lane, and others, set out for Abbotsleigh,	250
Adventures at Bromsgrove, Stratford, and Longmarston,	250
Occurrences at Abbotsleigh,	252
The Royal party go to Trent—Colonel Windham,	257
Future history of the Lanes—Occurrences at Trent—King leaves it,	258
The Skipper at Lyme Regis and his Wife—Adventures at Charmouth,	260
Village Preacher and Landlady—Bridport,	264
Hostler—Broad Windsor—King returns to Trent,	266

OCTOBER 1651.

More risks at Trent—New plans of escape—Colonel Philips,	268
King sets out for Heale House,	270
Innkeeper at Mere—the party at Heale—Stonehenge,	270
Lord Wilmot applies to Royalists for aid,	271
Mr Lawrence Hyde—Colonel and Captain Gunter,	272
Scenes at Racton—Attempts to procure a vessel—Mr Mansell,	274
Colonel Gunter and Mr Mansell go to Brighton, where they engage a vessel,	277
King and Colonel Philips leave Heale,	278
Scene at Hambledon,	279
Adventures on the journey from Hambledon to Brighton,	280
Occurrences and risks at Brighton,	282
King and Wilmot embark at Shoreham, and quit England—Remarks,	284

OUTLINE OF CHARLES II.'S LIFE AFTER HIS ESCAPE OUT OF ENGLAND, TILL

HIS RESTORATION,	286
INDEX OF NAMES,	303

MAP

Of the Route of King Charles II. after the Battle of Worcester in
September and October 1651, to face the *Title-page*.

OUTLINE
OF
KING CHARLES THE SECOND'S LIFE,
BEFORE GOING TO SCOTLAND.

CHARLES was born on the 29th May 1630. When eight years of age, the Earl (afterwards Marquis) of Newcastle, was appointed his guardian, and was subsequently succeeded in the same capacity by the Marquis of Hertford. The celebrated Thomas Hobbes taught him mathematics, Dr Brian Duppa, Bishop of Salisbury, was appointed ordinary tutor, and Dr Earl sub-tutor, to him and his brother the Duke of York.

From the time the civil broils began, Charles I. was desirous of having his son as much as possible near his own person. In 1642, we find them both at Greenwich, where the Queen embarked for Holland. When the King chose a body-guard to attend him, he nominated the young prince to be its captain, in which capacity he was at the battle of Edgehill, along with the Duke of York, under the charge of Mr Hyde the future Chancellor; and were very near all three being taken prisoners.

In 1645, the Prince was made Generalissimo of all his father's forces; and a council, consisting of the Duke of Richmond, the Earl of Southampton, the Lords Colepepper, Capel, and Hopton, with Mr Fanshawe for their secretary, were appointed to advise him. He confined himself to the west of England, and made Bristol the head-quarters of his little army. Here, however, little good was done. Owing to the rapid progress of the Rebellion, and the increasing

derangement of the King's affairs, the necessity for the Prince's escape out of the country soon became apparent, and he accordingly retired to the Scilly Islands. While there, the Parliament sent him an invitation to go to London, ostensibly for the purpose of attempting a reconciliation between his father and them; but, as a proof of what was their real object in this proposal, they, the very next day, surrounded the island on which he was, with a fleet of twenty ships, which, however, were happily driven away and dispersed the same evening by a storm. It being evident from this, that the Prince was no longer safe in his own dominions, he and his suite left the island, as soon as the weather moderated, and in twenty-four hours reached Jersey, where he landed on the 17th April 1646. The majority of his council wished him to remain there, but he soon after joined his mother at Paris, at her urgent request, "by whom," says Clarendon, "he was governed with such strictness, that, though he was above the age of seventeen, he never put on his hat before her, nor had above ten pistoles in his pocket."

From the autobiography of Mademoiselle de Montpensier (eldest daughter of Gaston Duke of Orleans, commonly called Monsieur), we learn the following particulars concerning Charles during his first visit to Paris. This lady was first cousin both to Charles and Louis XIV., but three years older than the former, and seven years older than the latter.—"As the troubles in England continued, the King sent his son the Prince of Wales into France, that he might be in a place of safety. He came to the Court, which was then at Fontainebleau. Their Majesties went to meet him in the forest. The Queen of England presented him to the King (Louis XIV., then nine years old), next to the Queen-mother, who kissed him, and then he saluted the Princess and myself. He was then sixteen or seventeen years old, and tall of his age; he had a fine head, black hair, dark complexion, and a good figure; but unfortunately he spoke and understood French very imperfectly. The Queen, his mother, wished to persuade me that he was in love with me; that he was always speak-

ing of me ; that, unless prevented by her, he would be constantly in my room ; that he thought me extremely agreeable ; and that he was in despair when the news came of the Empress (of Germany's) death, because it was believed that I would be married to the Emperor. I listened to all this with composure, and did not believe so much of it as she perhaps wished." Farther on, this flippant young lady says :—" We (the Prince and herself) saw each other often, because comedies were then frequently acted at the palace, and he never failed to attend them, and to place himself next to me. He accompanied me when I went to see the Queen his mother ; and whatever the weather might be, he never put on his hat in my presence. His politeness shewed itself even in trifles. One day, when I was going to an assembly at Madame de Choisy's, the Queen of England, who wished to see me dressed, came expressly for this purpose to my house in the evening, and took extreme pains to adorn me. All the time I was being dressed, the Prince held the flambeau to give me more light." Here she gives a description of her dress. " The Prince arrived at Madame de Choisy's before me, and presented himself to give me his hand in alighting from my carriage. Before entering the assembly, I went into a room to arrange my hair at a mirror. Again the Prince held the flambeau. He followed close behind me, and what is scarcely credible (and yet I was told it by his cousin and mine, Prince Robert [Rupert?], who acted as his interpreter), though he understood very little French, he understood every word *I* said ! When the assembly was over, and I had gone home, I was amazed to find that he had followed me, and did not leave me till he had seen me safe into my house. His gallantry was carried on so openly, that every one spoke of it," &c. &c. And yet, there was so much more of vanity or ambition than of any better feeling in this young lady's heart, that though she evidently takes great delight in relating those marks of her royal cousin's attachment to her, she concludes this very paragraph of her Memoirs by saying, that the idea of becoming Empress of Germany so wholly engrossed her mind, that she could not regard the Prince of Wales in

any other light than as an object of pity ! It is plain, that a lady of such a disposition was but ill calculated to make any husband happy.

In 1648, a part of the English fleet off the coast of Holland, under the command of Sir William Watten, having thrown off the yoke of the rebel Parliament, put itself under the command of the Prince of Wales. Accordingly, he and the Duke of York set off from Paris for Holland, and assumed the command of twenty large ships of war, besides frigates and smaller vessels. With these they put to sea, and entering Yarmouth Roads, the Thames and the Downs, captured several prizes. But their efforts ended in nothing. They were compelled to return to Holland, and the ships soon after put themselves under the orders of the Parliamentary Admiral, Lord Warwick.

The intelligence of Charles I.'s approaching mock trial, moved his son to use every endeavour to save him from the fate which, it was evident, awaited him. He not only got his brother-in-law the Prince of Orange and the States General to send an extraordinary Ambassador to the English government, but he himself wrote a letter to General Fairfax and the Council of War, offering to agree to any terms they would propose, if they would spare the King—but to no purpose.¹ Not content with murdering him, they issued a proclamation that all who should recognise his son as his successor, should be adjudged traitors, and suffer accordingly.

¹ In the British Museum is a blank sheet of paper, with the signature "Charles P." at the end of the fourth page, which is said to be a *carte blanche* sent from the Prince of Wales to the then ruling authorities, with an intimation that it might be filled up with any conditions which would preserve the King's life. "So thoroughly determined," writes one of the sister-biographers of the Queens of England and Scotland, "was the Prince of Wales that his noble act of filial duty should be carried into effect, that I have traced three *carte-blanches* of his sending at this period (namely, between his father's condemnation and execution), all dispatched by different messengers ; the *first*, to the Parliament of England, by Sir Henry Ellis ; the *second*, by young Seymour, which Charles I. received while waiting to be executed, and which he carefully burnt, lest ill use should be made of it ; and the *third*, put into Cromwell's own hands, in his house at Westminster, by the head of his family, the devoted loyalist Colonel Henry Cromwell."

When the news of this calamity reached the Hague, Charles's court consisted of the Marquis of Montrose, the Lords Hopton, Wilmot, Colepepper, and Wentworth, Sir Edward Hyde, and Sir Edward Nicholas; to whom we may add Colonel Massey, who had just abandoned the service of the Parliament, and joined his lawful King. They immediately went into mourning for twelve months.

No sooner was the fact of the King's murder known in Ireland and Scotland, than the Prince of Wales was proclaimed King in both these countries. The Scots sent a deputation to him, while he was still at the Hague, consisting of Sir Joseph Douglas, a few commissioners, and three or four ministers of the Kirk, inviting him to Scotland; but only "on the condition of his good behaviour, his strict observance of the Covenant, and his entertaining no other persons about him, but such as were godly men, and faithful to that obligation." This language was sufficiently objectionable, but the behaviour of the persons composing the deputation was still more so; for they refused to keep company with the Marquis of Montrose, whom they styled "that excommunicated traitor James Graham;" and they were nearly as much opposed to the Duke of Hamilton and the Earl of Lauderdale, who had lately been banished from Scotland, simply because they had been "engaged" in an unsuccessful attempt to rescue Charles I. out of the hands of his enemies;¹ nor, indeed, did they shew the least respect for any of the King's court, for no better reason than that they knew they were hostile to their Covenant. On these accounts, Charles felt no desire to put himself into their hands for the present, but turned his thoughts towards Ireland, to which he had been invited to go by the Marquis of Ormond. But the news of Cromwell's arrival

¹ The celebrated "Engagement" was entered into in 1643, between the Scottish Parliament and Charles I. for the deliverance of the latter from the English; he consenting to ratify the Solemn League and Covenant, and to establish Presbyterianism in Scotland for three years certain, but reserving liberty of worship for himself and his personal suite. This treaty, however, came to an unfortunate end, owing to the opposition of the Kirk, which nothing would satisfy short of unlimited concession. The "engagers" were excommunicated or banished, until they repented and did penance for their offence.

and rapid success in that country, soon made it evident that it would be very unsafe to venture there ; and as, for several reasons, he could not remain longer in Holland, he determined on returning to his mother at Paris.

We will accompany him there once more, and again hear Mademoiselle de Montpensier's narrative of what occurred at the French court, in reference to the flirtations betwixt him and herself. But it is necessary to premise that this part of her "Memoirs" begins while Charles was still in Holland, and before he had abandoned the design of going to Ireland:—"After Monsieur (the young lady's father) came to the Court, the Abbé de la Riviere came to me and said, that the Queen of England was doing all she could to persuade Monsieur to consent to the marriage of her son with me ; that my Lord Jermyn (the Queen's English Secretary), was seconding her endeavours ; that I ought not to be unconcerned about it ; and that Monsieur was coming to speak to me on the subject. He came accordingly, and asked me what I thought of this marriage ? I answered that I would obey him in every thing, as he knew better than I what was most for my benefit. A few days after, the King of England sent my Lord Perron to offer his compliments to their Majesties, and to obtain their permission for him to return to France. This Lord and Jermyn paid their court to me very assiduously. The Queen (of France) wished much for the marriage, and so did the Cardinal (Mazarin). The latter assured me that France would powerfully assist the King of England, that he had still many supporters in Britain, and that the whole of Ireland was subject to him. The Queen said she loved me as if I were her own child ; that she never would have entertained this proposal, if she had not thought it for my advantage ; that the Queen of England, who was one of the best persons in the world, had a great friendship for me ; and that her son the King was passionately fond of me, and desired nothing so much as to marry me. I replied that he did me too much honour, and that though the affairs of the King of France did not then allow of his giving such aid as would restore him to his throne, I would

nevertheless do whatever Monsieur might advise. She rallied me on the subject of the marriage in the presence of my Lord Jermyn, and I blushed. Monsieur l'Abbé came again to me to speak about it, and told me that Jermyn was going to the King of England, who was still in Holland; that he was desirous of receiving a positive answer to his proposal, because his affairs obliged him to go immediately to Ireland; that if I would give my consent, he would at once come and marry me, and remain long enough to give me the pleasure of being presented at court in my new rank; that then I should go with him to St Germain's, where the Queen of England had been since the court left it; that he would, after that, go to Ireland; and that, as to myself, I might live at Paris in the same style I had been used to. I told the Abbé that this last arrangement was out of the question; that I would go to Ireland with the King, if he wished it, and, if not, I would stay with his mother, or in one of my own houses; that it would not be seemly for me to mix in the amusements of the world, while the King was with his army, or that I should live up to my rank, when I ought to sacrifice every thing in order to send money to him; that I could not, without pain, see him entangled in such a war; and, in short, that if I married him, I could not avoid selling all my property, and hazarding every thing for the recovery of his kingdoms; and these thoughts, I confessed, troubled me, who had been brought up in affluence and indulgence. The Abbé admitted I was right, but he advised me, at the same time, to consider that there was no more suitable match for me in Europe than this; that both the Emperor and King of Spain were now married; that the King of Hungary was betrothed to the Infanta of Spain; that the Archduke would not probably be ever King of the Netherlands; that I would never take any of the German or Italian princes; that in France, the King and Monsieur (meaning the King's younger brother) were too young to marry; and that the Prince (of Condé) had been married ten years, and his wife was in extremely good health. I laughed and said, the Empress is in the family way, and may perhaps die in

child-birth ! After due consideration, I said, if Monsieur desire that I should marry the King of England, I should prefer doing so while he is unfortunate, because then he will feel under an obligation to me ; and when he recovers his throne, he will consider me as in a great measure the cause of it, from the aid I shall have rendered him." A little farther on, Mademoiselle tells us that, in discoursing with Lord Jermyn about the difference of religion betwixt Charles and herself, she said, " It is a difficulty I could never get over. If the King of England has any regard for me, he will sacrifice something for me on this point, in which case I will make other sacrifices for him. He answered that, situated as the King was, he could not declare himself a Catholic ; and gave very strong reasons for it, too many for me to remember ; but the chief of them was, that he would thereby for ever exclude himself from his dominions. We had a long dispute about this, and when he took leave, he expressed his hope that all the difficulties I had mentioned would be surmounted." " When the King of England arrived at Peronne, a courier came to announce this to their Majesties. The Queen said to me, here is your gallant arrived ; and the Abbé spoke to me in the same style. The day when he was to come to the court, we got up early to meet him, as he was to dine at Compiègne, and we required to be there before him. My hair was curled, which was not usually the case ; and when I went into the carriage with the Queen, she said, it is plain you are expecting your gallant, for how gaily you are dressed ! I was going to reply, but said nothing. When we met the King, we all alighted. He saluted their Majesties, and then me. I thought he looked well, and better than when he left France. Had his '*esprit*' corresponded to his looks, perhaps from that moment I should have loved him. When we were in the carriage, the King asked him about the Prince of Orange, dogs and horses, and the sports of Holland, and his answers were in French ; but when the Queen asked him about his own affairs, he gave no answer. When he was questioned on the most important matters which related to himself, he pleaded that he could

not speak our language. I confess, that from that time I determined not to marry him. I formed a very poor opinion of a king of his age, who seemed to have no knowledge of his own affairs;¹ though I knew well enough that the race of the Bourbons are fonder of amusement than of business; and it may be that I am so myself, both of my parents being of that family. At dinner, the King ate no ortolans, but he threw himself upon a piece of beef and a shoulder of mutton, as if there had been nothing else upon the table. After dinner, the Queen occupied herself about her own matters, and left me alone with him. For a whole quarter of an hour he did not say one word. I was willing to believe that his silence proceeded more from respect than from want of love, though on this occasion I could have wished it had been otherwise. As I was growing *ennuyée*, I called Madame de Comminges to come and help me to make him speak, and this succeeded. Monsieur l'Abbé said to me, that he was looking at me the whole time of dinner, and that he still looked at me incessantly. I replied, what is the use of looking, if he does not speak? It is because, he said, you make light of the gallant things he says to you. Excuse me, I said; come near us when we are together, and you shall see how he behaves. The Queen having again retired, I approached the King, and, to make him speak, I asked him about some persons belonging to his suite whom I knew; he answered me, but without a single expression of gallantry. When the time of his departure came, we got into the carriage, and conveyed him to the middle of the forest, where we first met him. He there took leave of the King; and when, accompanied by Lord Jermyn, he came up to me, he said, I understand that Lord Jermyn, who speaks French better than I, has explained to you my sentiments and my intentions. I am your very obedient servant. I replied that I was his very obedient servant. Lord Jermyn made his compliments, and then the King saluted me and departed."

¹ This was a harsh censure; for Charles might have an object in concealing his plans from the French court; and besides, though he could talk about dogs and horses in tolerable French, it did not follow that he could do so on political subjects.

After what had passed between the King and his fair cousin, it is not easy to account for his extreme reserve and silence, supposing her account of the matter to be correct ; nor is it reconcileable with his usual behaviour to the other sex.

But Charles did not quit France for three months after this, and was destined to meet his volatile cousin once more before his departure. During this interval, he passed his time at St Germain's with his mother.—“ When I learnt,” proceeds our authoress, “ that he was about to go away, I went to take leave of him, and to pay my respects to his mother. When we met, she said to me I ought to rejoice with you on the death of the Empress (!) because, though your marriage to the Emperor failed on the former occasion, it will not probably fail this time. I replied that, as to that, it gave me very little concern. She then said, here is one who is of opinion that a king of eighteen years old is preferable to an emperor of fifty, who has four children. She went on bantering me in this style for some time, but added that her son was too poor and too unfortunate for me. She then relented, and pointing to an English lady of her suite, of whom her son was enamoured, he dreads, she whispered, lest you should know it ; observe how ashamed he is to see you in her presence, through fear that I should tell you of it. When he withdrew, she said to me, come with me into my cabinet ; and when we were there she closed the door, and said, the King, my son, has begged of me to ask your pardon if the proposal which was made to you at Compiègne offended you, which he much fears may be the case. He has ever since been troubled with this idea, and cannot divest himself of it. For me, I was averse to charge myself with this commission, but he urged me so importunately that I could not refuse. I now think with you that you would have been unhappy with him ; I love you too much to desire your union, though it would have been a great benefit to him had you consented to share his unfortunate destiny. All I can venture to hope is, that his projected expedition may be successful, and that then you will think more favourably of our proposal. In reply, I expressed my

regard and good wishes in the best terms I could, and then took my leave to go to the abbey of St Louis at Poissy, two leagues distant, where two of my sisters had been placed."

"The Duke of York offered to accompany me if I would bring him back to St Germain, which I agreed to do, as he was only a little boy. The King also wished to go, but to this I objected. He then asked his mother to go with him, which she did, and they all three came in my carriage. During the whole journey the Queen spoke of nothing but of the happy terms on which her son would live with his wife, and that he would love no one but her. This he himself confirmed, and said that he could not comprehend how any man, who had an amiable and discreet wife, could think of loving another woman; and that for himself, whatever inclination he might have for another before marriage, that would be at an end from the moment he became a husband. All this might be true, but it had very much the appearance of having been preconcerted. I stayed but a short time at Poissy, as it was getting late, and, after taking leave of the Queen, who remained there, I was led to my carriage by the King, who paid me some forced compliments, without any expressions of love, which indeed at that time would have been useless, as my head was wholly filled with the idea of becoming an Empress."

We shall meet with Mademoiselle and Charles, after the latter's return from Scotland, about two years from this time, and meanwhile we must advert to other and more important matters. But, before proceeding to them, I may merely state here, that so bent was Mademoiselle on the German alliance, that she had the indelicacy to despatch, or at least to consent to the despatch of, an envoy to the court of Vienna to negotiate the affair on her own behalf! The proposal, however, proved unacceptable, as the Emperor fixed on the Princess of Mantua for his next wife. This, as may be supposed, caused the deepest chagrin to Mademoiselle; but her vanity got the better of her ambition. At least she wished the world to believe this; for she tells us in her Memoirs that her only regret was, that

she had ever taken the matter so much to heart ; “ while, I may add, without vanity,” she says, “ that God, who is just, would not bestow a woman like me on a man who was undeserving of her” ! Perhaps the Divine justice was more truly manifested in subsequently bestowing her on a man who was the means of punishing her for her excessive vanity, inconsistency, cold-heartedness, and ambition.

But we must now return to Charles. The French authorities, through a mean fear of offending the English parliament, did not encourage him to remain in France, and therefore, in September 1649 he returned to Jersey, which still acknowledged his sovereignty. Here he received another deputation from the Scots, inviting him to Scotland, but on the same offensive conditions as before. The King avoided giving them a definitive answer, but promised to meet their Commissioners at Breda, in the month of March following, under the mediation of their common ally, the Prince of Orange, and there settle the preliminaries of a formal treaty with them. While at Jersey, he wrote to the Marquis of Montrose, who was at that time preparing, with Charles's own commission, to lead an army into Scotland, in order to co-operate with the royalists there, desiring him not to be deterred from his enterprise by any reports that might reach him of his treating with the Presbyterians, but to rely on his continued countenance and support. He wrote from the same place to the Rev. Robert Douglas, one of the leading ministers of the Kirk of Scotland, entreating him “ to use his credit among his brethren to persuade them to reasonable moderation, and to that confidence in him as might produce the like affection in him towards them, and be the ground of a right understanding between them.”

On his way to Breda in March 1650, he met his mother, by appointment, at Beauvais, who strongly urged him to throw himself into the arms of the Scots, and to comply with all their demands, as his only remaining chance of success. He met the Scots Commissioners at Breda at the time agreed on ; and I now proceed to give the details of the transactions there, and of the important events which followed.



INTRODUCTION.



THE Scottish Parliament constituted the Earls of Cassillis and Lothian, on the part of the nobility,—Alexander Brodie of Brodie,¹ and George Winram of Libberton, Lords of the Court of Session, on the part of the barons,—Sir John Smith, and Alexander Jaffray, Commissary of Aberdeen, on the part of the burghs,—and the Rev. Messrs James Wood, Professor of Church History in St Mary's College, St Andrews, John Livingstone, minister of Ancrum, and George Hutchinson, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, on the part of the Presbyterian Kirk of Scotland—as a deputation to wait on Charles II. at Breda. These with their Secretary, Mr James Dalrymple² (afterwards Lord Stair), and followers, embarked at Leith on Saturday the 9th of March 1650,³ and arrived at Campvere on the Tuesday following. They had “a letter of credit to

¹ This Commissioner has left a large MS. Diary (extending from the year 1636 till about the time of the Restoration), which I have seen. It is written in cypher or short-hand, so as to be almost illegible without a key. A small part of it, however, but subsequent to the period we are now going to survey, was decyphered, I know not by whom, or by what means, and printed in 1740. It abounds with pious reflections, much tainted with the fanaticism of the age, and containing very few historical allusions. Brodie seems to have been a man of great sincerity, but of a timid and wavering disposition.

² This gentleman had been a captain in the Presbyterian army, and afterwards a Professor in the University of Glasgow. He was knighted by Charles II. after the Restoration, and created a Viscount by William III. He is well known as the author of “Institutes of the Law of Scotland,” &c.

³ Let it be observed, once for all, that the dates in this work, are in the Old Style, which was then used in Great Britain. The New Style, was regarded with suspicion by our Protestant forefathers as having originated at Rome.

borrow, beyond seas, upon the credit of the kingdom, the sum of £300,000" (Scots), to give to the King, on condition, and not otherwise, of his agreeing to their terms. This was no more than £25,000 sterling; and small as the sum was, it was afterwards found that they could not raise so much on the public credit of Scotland, or rather, perhaps, of the then existing Government; and all that the Commissioners could do was to borrow 100,000 merks, or about £5500 sterling on their own personal security, to be repaid on the 1st of August following.¹

Before the arrival of the Commissioners, some difficulty had been made by the King and his advisers as to his acknowledging that to be a Parliament which had been convoked without his authority; but it was soon seen that it would be impolitic to urge this objection, especially as much more serious ones were likely to arise in the course of the negotiation.

The terms which the Scottish Commissioners had to propose to the King were as follows:—

1. "That all those who have been and continue excommunicate by the Kirk of Scotland may be removed from having access to the Court.

2. "That he (the King) would be pleased to declare that he would, by solemn oath, under his hand and seal, allow the National Covenant of Scotland, and the Solemn League and Covenant of Scotland, England, and Ireland,² and that he would prosecute the ends thereof in his royal station.

3. "That he would ratify and approve all Acts of Parliament enjoining the Solemn League and Covenant, and establishing Presbyterial government, the Directory of Worship, the Confession of Faith and Catechism, in the kingdom of Scotland, as they are already approved by the General Assembly of the Kirk, and by the Parliament of that kingdom; and that he would give his royal assent to the Acts of

¹ Balfour's Annals, iv. p. 68. Acta Parliam. Car. II. pp. 538, 603

² The National Covenant had been enacted in A. D. 1580 under James VI. against Popery, and was extended or enlarged in 1638; and the Solemn League and Covenant was enacted by the Westminster Assembly in 1643 against Prelacy or Episcopacy. When *the* Covenant is spoken of, it always means the latter of these two.

Parliament enjoining the same in the rest of his dominions ; and that he would observe the same in his own practice and family, and never make opposition therein, or endeavour any change thereof.

4. " That he would consent and agree that all matters civil might be determined by the present and subsequent Parliaments of the kingdom of Scotland, and all matters ecclesiastical by the General Assembly of the Kirk, as was formerly condescended and agreed to by his late father."

To these proposals two more were subsequently added, 1st, That his Majesty should ratify all that had been done in the Parliament of Scotland since the year 1641 ; and, 2d, That the Marquis of Montrose and his adherents—who were known to be at that time preparing for a descent upon Scotland against the Covenanters, in support of the royal cause—be prohibited access to that kingdom.

A very few remarks may be made on these singular demands from subjects to their acknowledged sovereign:—*First*, liberty of conscience was denied him ; for he was to observe Presbyterianism " in his own practice and family," though known to be an Episcopalian. *Secondly*, though he were to establish Presbyterianism in Scotland, he could not engage to do so in " the rest of his dominions," England and Ireland being then under the rigid government of a puritanical parliament. *Thirdly*, he would equally offend, and really did offend, the members of the Church of England, and the Irish Roman Catholics, by signing a document which was utterly at variance with the creeds of both. *Fourthly*, Charles I. had publicly forbidden the Solemn League and Covenant, styling it " traitorous and seditious ;" and his son, who was at this time of the same religious persuasion as his father, could not possibly approve of a document which enjoined the " extirpation of Prelacy." *Lastly*, he was required to promise consent not only to what the then existing Parliament and Assembly had agreed to, but to what all *subsequent* ones might be pleased to enjoin !

Proposals liable to such formidable objections as these looked very like building up with one hand what was pulling

down with the other, in which case no reasonable hope could be entertained of a satisfactory accommodation. Charles should at once have refused his assent to such degrading terms, whatever might be the consequences; on the same principle that the early Christian martyrs refused to sacrifice to the heathen gods, though they knew that, on account of such refusal, the severest penalties awaited them. The crown even of three kingdoms would be dearly bought at the expense of conscience.

Meantime, in order to further the success of the above treaty, a *Fast* had been proclaimed throughout Scotland, to be held on the 7th April; and with this object was strangely blended, the suppression of "Malignants" (*i. e.* devoted royalists), of "Sectaries" (*i. e.* English Puritans), and of "witches," which were never known to be so numerous in Scotland as at that period.¹ The intention of those and other Fasts was to stir up the minds of the people, by sermons and prayers, for the particular purpose which the Kirk had in view.

Of "Malignants" and "Sectaries" we shall hear much more in the following narrative; but let me here, once for all, say a few words respecting the "witches." The morbid desire of trying and burning these unhappy persons seems to have been connected, in some mysterious way, with the reign of the Solemn League and Covenant, the hatred of Malignancy, and the prevalence of immorality. Certain it is, that these things run side by side in all the contemporary Kirk records. We have few details of the punishment of witches, because the poor creatures were handed over to the civil power for execution; but the records of the period abound with references to the facts. Lamont, in his "Diary,"² says, that in the summer of 1649, very many witches were taken and burnt in several parts of this kingdom, as in Lothian; and in Fife, at Inverkeithing, Aberdour, Burntisland, Dysart, and Dunfermline. An Act of the Scottish Parliament of the same year renders "consulters with

¹ Nicoll's Diary, p. 6.

² Chronicle of Fife, being the Diary of John Lamont of Newton, 1649-1672. 4to. 1830.

witches" liable to death. "I myself," says Sir James Balfour, "did see, the 20th July this year (1649), in one afternoon, commissions generally directed by the Parliament for trying and burning 27 witches, women, and 3 men and boys. Their depositions were publicly read in face of Parliament, before the house would vote for the President's subscribing of the Act for the Clerk's issuing of these commissions. Likewise, divers commissions were given by the Lords of Council in November and December, this same year, for trying and burning of witches." In December 1649 (I confine myself as nearly as possible to the two years I am now reviewing), the Presbytery of Lanark sent for "George Cuthie the pricker, who hath skill to find out the mark in witches,"—"and with consent of the forenamed suspected women of witchcraft (there were twelve of them), the said George did prick pins in every one of them; and in divers of them without pain the pin was put in, as the witnesses can testify, as the process at more length bears."¹ Those women were so numerous that the said Presbytery ordered them to be imprisoned, and twelve men to watch them by turns every twenty-four hours, night and day, till they were brought to trial; and certain ministers were, at the same time, appointed to try and bring them to confession. At Dysart, in April 1650, certain husbands joined in an accusation, before the Synod of Fife, of witchcraft against their own wives, and in this they were joined by their own children.² In May, the same year, the very day after the Marquis of Montrose's execution, the Scottish Parliament appointed a Committee to try the depositions of *fifty-four* witches, with power to the said Committee to issue commissions for their farther trial, examination, and execution; and also to think upon a *constant course* and commission for that effect hereafter, and to report.³ And again, in December the same year, "the commissioners of Dunbarton's bill was read, seeking a commission for putting some witches to execution upon confession—granted."⁴ Often

¹ Presbytery Book of Lanark, p. 75. ² Records of the Synod of Fife, p. 169.

³ Balfour's Annals, iv. p. 22.

⁴ Ibid. iv. p. 194. See in my History of St Andrews, ii. p. 18, a curious account of a supposed witch, who very narrowly escaped burning in 1650.

those women confessed themselves to be witches—meaning, I suppose, that they had used incantations.

With this prevailing propensity, immorality of all kinds abounded to an alarming extent—a proof that the religion which then passed for *godliness* was wholly ineffectual for checking vice. Cromwell himself, in a letter from Edinburgh, of the 25th September 1650, says, “ I thought I should have found in Scotland a conscientious people, and a barren country. About Edinburgh, it is as fertile for corn as any part of England ; but the people generally are so given to the most impudent lying and frequent swearing, that it is incredible to be believed.” Nicoll, a very honest-minded diarist, and not opposed to the Covenant, says (under date February 1650), “ Much falsehood and cheating at this time was daily detected by the Lords of Session, for which there was *daily* hanging, scourging, nailing of ears, and binding of the people to the trone,¹ and boring of tongues ; so that it was a fatal year for false notaries and witnesses, as daily experience did witness. And as for adultery, incest, fornication, bigamy, and other uncleanness and filthiness, they never abounded more than at this time.” Lamont bears his testimony in similar strong language. It is true that Kirkton, an enthusiastic historian of the period, passes a high eulogium on the religious feeling then existing, and his statement is often quoted in proof of the very opposite conclusion I am endeavouring to establish ; but we may understand his notions of religion and its effects from the following words :—“ Ministers,” he says, “ were painstaking, and people were diligent ; and if a man had seen one of their solemn communions, when many congregations met in great multitudes, *some dozen* of ministers used to preach, and the people continued, as it were, in a *sort of trance* (so serious were they in spiritual matters), for *three days at least*, he would have thought it a solemnity unknown to the rest of the world.” What kind of religion it was which consisted of being “ in a trance for three days at least,” may be imagined ; but I have little doubt that Kirkton was right in saying that such a scene was “ was unknown to the rest

¹ The public weighing machine in the market-place.

of the world," unless we except the American camp-meetings of modern times, where religious excitement takes the place of the moral duties, and the worst disorders are known to prevail.

"The Assemblies," says Orme, in his *Memoirs of Dr Owen*, "were exceedingly zealous in putting down Episcopacy, in establishing uniformity, and in passing persecuting laws, but had much less of the spirit of Christ than their office required. The English army and ministers had but a low opinion of the state of religion on their coming into Scotland." According to a testimony from the army (quoted by Whitelock, p. 456), the Church of Scotland was "a Kirk whose religion is formality, and whose government is tyranny, a generation of very hypocrites and vipers." And, lest this should be called the testimony of an enemy, we may add, that Mr Hugh Binning, one of the leading Presbyterian ministers of that day in Scotland, witnesses to the same effect. "What," he asks, "is now the great blot of our visible church? Here it is—the most part are not God's children, but called so; and it is the greater blot that they are called so, and are not." And again he asks—"Set aside your public service and professions, and is there any thing behind in your conversation but drunkenness, lying, swearing, deceit, wrath, covetousness, and such like? You neither bow the knee in secret, nor in your families, to God."¹

Not, however, that the Covenanters were without some virtues; but these were mixed up with so many blemishes, and even vices, that the former were more than neutralized by the latter. Thus, they would on no account swear or fight a duel, yet they were guilty of forswearing their allegiance to their lawful King, and fought against him for whom God had commanded them to honour and pray. They did not omit to read and quote Scripture, and to hear long sermons—but they inflicted severe corporal punishments, and even death, on those who presumed to differ, however conscientiously, from themselves.² They were not charge-

¹ Writings of Hugh Binning, pp. 518, 546.

² For example, on Montrose and his followers.

able with riot, or debauchery, or gallantry,—but they could deceive and betray, whenever they had an end to gain by so doing. They would not get drunk—but they thought it no sin to cherish “malice, hatred, and all uncharitableness,” against those whom they deemed their enemies. They kept the first day of the week very strictly, but made no scruple of returning “railing for railing” towards their opponents. In short, during the period we are about to review, there never was more of the language and appearance of piety, and never less of the reality and practice of it: the former having been adopted seemingly as a substitute for the latter.

The following two short extracts from the Kirk-Session Book of Aberdeen, may give us an idea of how very rigidly the first day of the week was then observed:—“July 1651. Intimation was made out of the pulpits of our burgh, by the ministers thereof, that no inhabitant within the same, of whatever quality, walk about the fields, or repair in companies to the Castlehill, on the Lord’s day, after sermon; with certification to be punished as the Session shall think fit.”—“August 1651. John Barclay, sharply admonished by the moderator, in the name of the Session, *for going to the Old Town on the Lord’s day betwixt sermons*”—a distance of one mile! Those Sabbatarians, who “strained at a gnat and swallowed a camel,” and regulated their conduct by the rule of contraries, had forgotten that, while our blessed Lord *added* to the stringency of the other Nine Commandments, he considerably *lessened* that of the Fourth: for He and His disciples walked through the fields on the Jewish Sabbath; and on the very first Christian Sunday He walked to Emmaus, a distance of sixty furlongs, or more than seven of our miles—two of the very things which the ministers of Aberdeen thought fit to prohibit.

At the risk of being accused of making too many quotations, I cannot avoid giving here an extract from D’Israeli’s Commentaries on the Life and Reign of Charles I., on the subject under consideration:—“When the strength and glory of England were placed in the hands of the Puritans, their extravagant conduct on many national subjects was

never more visible than in their sabbatic regulations. It seemed as if religion consisted chiefly of the sabbatarian rigours, and that a British senate had been transformed into a company of Hebrew Rabbins. In 1650, an Act was passed for inflicting penalties for breach of the Sabbath, some of which included dancing and singing, or travelling in a boat, on horseback, or in a coach, or sedan, except to church. This exception occurred on the remonstrance of one of the members of the House of Commons complaining that, in their zeal, they had tied the godly from going to church by water or coach; for that he, coming from Westminster to Somerset House to sermon, had his boat and waterman seized for the penalty."¹ Our modern sabbatarians carry matters even farther than the Puritans, for they will not allow people to go to church by a mail railway train, though it is going at all events!²

The sermons of the period under our review consisted, in a great measure, of discussions on the political topics of the day, or of tirades against the men and measures which were obnoxious to the Kirk. At all the presbyterial examinations of ministers, one of the questions put to the parishioners was, Whether their minister preached sufficiently against Malignancy and Sectarianism? Thus, in the visitation of the parish of Logie, in Fife, in 1650, one of the complaints against the minister was, that "he was sparing in speaking against the evils of the time, *especially Malignancy*; and that he speaks not enough for our deliverance from *James Graham*." This and other charges having been proved against him, he was suspended from preaching till he gave evidence of his repentance.³

¹ D'Israeli's Commentaries on the Life and Reign of Charles I., vol. iii. p. 387.

² But let me not be misunderstood. I am so far friendly to a due observance of the first day of the week, that I shall help the sabbatarians to a much stronger argument in favour of it than any I have ever yet seen advanced at their public meetings, namely, that the people of Scotland (thanks to those who have abolished the Fasts and Festivals of the Holy Church Universal) confine their religion so entirely to the Sunday, that if they are deprived of this, they are deprived of nearly all the religion they have.

³ Records of the Presbytery of Cupar, p. 154. Two other charges brought against this minister, were—his choosing "impertinent texts of Scripture for his discourses," and "that he was inclined to a set form of prayer!"

In like manner, when Cromwell was in Glasgow, as we shall see in the course of this narrative, one of the Presbyterian ministers who preached before him is said to have spoken "well to the times," and another to have given "a testimony against the sectaries." The celebrated Robert Leighton, afterwards Bishop of Dunblane, was at this time minister of Newbattle. The answer he gave, when he was rebuked for not preaching more to the times, is well known—"For God's sake, when all my brethren are preaching about the *times*, suffer one poor minister to preach about *eternity*."

It will give the reader a more complete notion of this period, if I here quote one passage from the Memoirs of Sir Ewen Cameron of Locheill,¹ respecting the power of the parochial courts of Scotland, or kirk-sessions, as they are called. "Every parish," says the author, "had a tyrant, who made the greatest lord in his district stoop to his authority. The kirk was the place where he kept his court: the pulpit his throne or tribunal, from whence he issued out his terrible decrees; and some twelve or fourteen ignorant enthusiasts, under the title of elders, composed his council. If any, of what quality soever, had the assurance to disobey his edicts, the dreadful sentence of excommunication was immediately thundered out against him, his goods and chattels confiscated and seized, and himself looked upon as actually in the possession of the devil, and irretrievably doomed to eternal perdition. All that conversed with him were in no better esteem." A reference to the records of the Presbyteries and Synods, some of which have been recently printed,² amply confirms this statement, and shews that if any person in the parish were suspected of holding opinions hostile to the Presbyterianism of the age, he or she was summoned before the kirk court, a first, second, and third time, and interrogated; and if he still refused to sign the Covenant, "keep the kirk," as it was called, and communicate, he was subjected to "the dreadful sentence of excommunication," with all its civil penalties; which com-

¹ Memoirs of Sir Ewen Cameron of Locheill, printed for the Abbotsford Club, p. 87.

² Those, namely, of St Andrews, Cupar, Fife, Lanark, and Strathbogie.

monly had the effect of producing a hypocritical conformity to what the penitent inwardly abhorred ; nor was he relaxed from his punishment till he had made his confession in sackcloth, on his bare knees, in his parish kirk. The following examples, selected from the year 1650, may serve to illustrate this state of things:—" In May 1650, James Dury, being called, appeared, and was declared by the minister to have been out of the kirk eight Sabbaths ; and because he would in no ways give satisfaction, by submitting to the discipline of the Kirk, he is recommended to the civil magistrate *to be put in firmance* till he find sufficient caution to give satisfaction to the Order of the Kirk."¹ " 25th Sept. 1650. The said day, Catherine, Mary, and Jean Gordon, daughters to Carnborrow, having been summoned *pro tertio*, and not appearing, were ordained to hear the Word, communicate, and subscribe the League and Covenant, under pain of excommunication."² On the same day, " John Ogilvy of Milton, in Keith, did appear, and gave in his supplication, humbly acknowledging his accession to the late horrid rebellion *against God and his cause*, [meaning Montrose's attempt in favour of the King] ingenuously declaring his great grief of heart for the same, promising to walk more religiously in all time coming ; and so, for taking away his scandal for his great offence, he humbly submitted himself to the Presbytery ; whereupon he was desired to subscribe the bond made concerning it, and ordained to make his repentance *in sackcloth* in Keith, and thereafter to be received to the League and Covenant."² In the Presbytery Book of Lanark there is a sort of running fight, carried on for no less a period than fourteen years (from 1643 till 1657), between the members of the Presbytery on the one hand, and the Marquis and Marchioness of Douglas, on the other ; traces of which appear in almost every page of the records, and sometimes they occupy whole pages together. The noble couple were Roman Catholics, and naturally enough did all they could to avoid, or to evade, the orders of the Presbytery ; in doing which, they certainly exhibited wonderful ingenuity and perseverance ; occasion-

¹ Presbytery Book of Cupar.

² Presbytery Book of Strathbogie.

ally pleading ill health, as a reason for delay—or want of time for getting farther information on the subject in dispute—or the pressure of public and domestic affairs. Next, they “keep the kirk,” for a season, with tolerable regularity, and afterwards fall off in their attendance;—now, they submit to be publicly rebuked from the pulpit, on their knees, in the hope that they might thus propitiate the Presbytery; and then, they grow restive under the Kirk discipline, and renounce it. The Presbytery, meanwhile, were continually renewing their commands to the obstinate pair, under the threat of excommunication, to “keep the kirk” more regularly, and to subscribe the Covenant and the Confession of Faith—at one time, sending a minister, at another a whole committee of ministers, to argue or remonstrate with them—imposing on them a tutor of their own persuasion for the instruction of their children, and even a chaplain for the performance of their family devotions; and insisting on their bringing back from France certain members of their family, who were being popishly educated in that country, &c. At length, in 1650, the delinquents, evidently to get rid of this troublesome importunity, sign the Covenant and promise obedience; but, in 1657, “outbreakings” of former misbehaviour begin to manifest themselves; after which, there is a blank of several years in the records, and we hear no more about the matter. The truth is, that when the English gained the ascendancy in Scotland, they refused to support the Kirk in her intolerance, and abolished the civil penalties of excommunication; so that many of those who had previously submitted threw off the yoke, and took advantage of the liberty of conscience which was then generally conceded.

But it is time that I return from this long digression.

I cannot think it was any feeling of disinterested loyalty on the part of the Covenanters which prompted them to bring back Charles II. to Scotland. Hallam says, that “the Scots were attached, if not by royal affection, yet by national pride, to the blood of their ancient kings.” This might be true in regard to the masses of the people, but I am unable to detect any traces of it among the governing

party in either Kirk or State. It is true they made great pretensions to loyalty, as they did to evangelical piety; but, judging by their *conduct*, they had as little of the one as they had of the other. This is completely proved by the fact, that the very same party who called Charles II. to the throne, had, only some years before, raised an army under Leslie, and marched into England, to assist the Parliament against Charles I., and afterwards sold their monarch into the hands of his enemies; for which traitorous and rebellious deeds they had never once expressed the slightest compunction. And the same thing is proved by their subsequent treatment of the second Charles himself and his adherents. But the English sectaries were at this time acquiring the upper hand, in consequence of which, the darling Covenant was in danger. Their object, therefore, was to make the King their *tool* to serve their own ends, to prevail on him to become a Covenanter like themselves, to throw the weight of his influence into their scale, and thus to balance the rising power of the Independents, who were keenly opposed both to their exclusive pretensions, and to their intolerance.

Mr Jaffray, one of the commissioners to the King at Breda, admits thus much in his Diary;¹ and, occupying so distinguished an office, he must have been well acquainted with the secret springs of the Covenanting Government. "The English army," he says, "having disappointed so far our expectations in carrying on the work of union and uniformity in the three nations, conformably to the model and design of Scotland (so cunningly plotted and contrived in the League and Covenant), they were likely, in establishing both civil and ecclesiastical affairs, to carry it plain contrary to what was intended and hoped for; for instead of presbytery being established in the Kirk of Scotland, whereby they (the Presbyterians) might rule all, there was

¹ This Jaffray, after being a Presbyterian, became an Independent, then a Fifth-Monarchy man, and lastly a Quaker; and, having been connected with the Barclays of Urie in Kincardineshire, the MS. of his Diary was accidentally found in that mansion, and published by one of the family in 1834. It ought to be observed, that when he compiled his Diary he had become a Quaker, which accounts for his speaking so disparagingly of the Covenant.

likely to be set up a lawless liberty and toleration of all religions, whereby *they* would be altogether disappointed. To prevent this deluge and overflowing scourge, as it was then thought to be, *no means was thought to be so fit as bringing home our King.*"

In confirmation of how little loyalty entered into their motives, the General Assembly of the Kirk had told the King, in an address which they made to him the year before this, that "if he, or any having or pretending to have commission from him, shall invade this kingdom upon pretext of establishing him in the exercise of his royal power, as it will be a high provocation against God, so it will be a necessary duty to resist and oppose the same." Men who could use such language as this to their lawful King do not surely deserve to be complimented on their loyalty. Still, they were desirous of having the King among them for the reasons I have mentioned; so much so, that when they discovered, as they soon did, that at the very time he was treating openly with them on the footing of the Covenant, he was secretly in concert with Montrose for invading Scotland as the opponent of that Covenant, and as the uncompromising supporter of the royal authority, they contented themselves with wreaking their vengeance on that gallant nobleman and his followers, connived at Charles's duplicity, and did all they could to uphold him, in order to set him in opposition to the English Parliament for the accomplishment of their own ends.¹

As a farther instance of the credulity or insincerity of the parties concerned, we read in Balfour's Annals that the Marquis of Argyll, after Montrose's defeat, reported to the Scottish Parliament that "he had a letter from the Earl of Lothian (then one of the commissioners at Breda), which

¹ See Robert Douglas' Letter to the King, dated, Edinburgh, 21st February 1650, in Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, Lib. xi. In the same place is a letter from Chancellor Loudon, written in January to the King, and one from the Marquis of Argyll in March, urging him, as the only way to please God and benefit himself, to subscribe the Westminster Standards of Theology, and to enjoin the same "in all his Majesty's dominions." One thing is remarkable in these documents, that Argyll's *spelling* is much inferior to that of Loudon and Douglas, which last scarcely differs from that of the present day.

shewed him that his Majesty was noway sorry that James Graham was defeated, in respect, as he said, he had made that invasion without, and contrary to his command." Whether Charles had authorised this to be written may be doubted, for Argyll was just as capable of forging a falsehood to serve his purposes as the King was; but it is certain that the Parliament was quite ready to credit this announcement; and when men are willing to be deceived, they are just as much to blame as those who deceive them. At any rate, no good could be expected ultimately to arise from a behaviour which was characterised by such hypocrisy on the one side, and such credulity on the other.

It was a great fault in Charles that he agreed to accept the Crown of Scotland from those who were actuated by such a temper, and who imposed their Covenant upon him as the condition of their allegiance. A covenant, as its very name denotes, is an agreement willingly entered into between two or more parties. What, then, are we to think of an agreement *unwillingly* entered into by one of the parties—nay, in a manner forced on one who, at the moment he put his hand to it, repudiated it in his heart? Not to add that this Covenant required the "extirpation" of the very form of Christianity which Charles professed; it threatened his supporters, the "Malignants," with "condign punishment;" and it contained expressions of such doubtful signification, that they might, and did, give rise to endless controversies. Had the King refused to sign this obnoxious deed, he would have been no loser in the end; and he would have been saved the disgrace of taking an oath which he could never have intended to keep, and which indeed if he *had* kept, he would have committed a still greater error than he did in breaking it.¹

The Scottish Commissioners reached Breda on the 12th of March, and were informed that the King had not yet arrived there, but that he was on his way from Beauvais to

¹ Is signing the Westminster Confession of Faith, which is done constantly in Scotland at this day, by men who notoriously disbelieve its contents (and, I will add, who *ought* to disbelieve a great part of it), any better than Charles signing the Solemn League and Covenant?

meet them. They proceeded to Bergen-op-Zoom, where they met him, and returned with him to Breda on the 16th. On the 18th, they were joined by the Duke of Hamilton, and the Earls of Lauderdale, Callender, and Dunfermline—Scottish Peers who had been banished from their country for no higher an offence than because, in conformity with an Act of Parliament, but contrary to the decree of the Kirk, they had entered into the “Engagement” to endeavour the rescue of the late King out of the hands of his enemies. Those loyal noblemen were most anxious to bring about a reconciliation between Charles II. and his Scottish subjects, but their appearance at this juncture was far from being agreeable to the Commissioners.

We may form an idea of the pecuniary embarrassments of Charles at this time, from a fact mentioned by Sir Edward Nicholas, then at Breda, in a letter to the Marquis of Ormond, that he could not have performed his journey from Beauvais to that place had he not, by good fortune, met with an English merchant, who lent him £200; and that while at Breda he was obliged to live at the sole charge of the Prince of Orange.¹

On the 19th, the Commissioners were conducted by Lord Wentworth, Master of the Ceremonies, to the presence of his Majesty, in order to deliver their credentials, and to open their first communication to him on the subject of their mission.

Livingstone, one of the clerical commissioners from the Kirk, has left us a curious account of what passed at Breda during the negotiation with the King. Like all the Presbyterians of that age, he was *Covenant mad*,² and withal, both narrow-minded and simple-minded; very infirm of

¹ Mary, the eldest daughter of Charles I., was married to the Prince of Orange in 1641. He died a few months after the events we are now recording; and nine days after his death his princess was delivered of a son, afterwards William III. of England.

² “A perfect *furor* (says Warburton in his *Life of Prince Rupert*, vol. ii., p. 244) seized the Scotch on this subject. Many wept as they signed [the Covenant], some drew their blood to render the record of their vow more vital; and women sometimes remained in the kirks from Friday to Sunday in order to hear the Covenant preached about.”

purpose, as we shall see, and easily persuaded to act against his own judgment. But as his style is really a very graphic one, and brings the scenes he describes before the reader much better than I could do, it will be desirable to allow him to speak for himself.—

“ When we were come to Bredah, it was put on my Lord Cassills to make some speech to the king at our first receiving, and on me to make ane other speech after him in name of the Church. This speech I did prepare, wherin were some things a litle free, such as I thought became ane minister to speak concerning the king himself and his father’s house, and the counsells and wayes he had followed. This speech I did communicat, first to the commissioners of the Church, after to those of the State; but it was once and again so altered with delations and additions, that it was nothing like itself. Everything that was thought harsh behooved to be delate, and some things added such as would be thought most savorie in the entry of the treaty to the king and the court. I thought it was not my part to stand peremptory for ane paper of my own drawing, and they told me that I was not to show my own minde, but theirs. Thus I agreed to all. So dangerous it is for ane man of simple disposition to be yoked to these who, by witt, authority, and boldness, can overmaster them.”

Mr Robert Long, the King’s Secretary, and who afterwards accompanied him to Scotland, was present at the delivery of this speech of Mr Livingstone, and thus communicates the circumstance to the Marquis of Ormond, in a letter dated Breda, the 20th March.¹—“ Since the dispatch of Master Rawlins from Beauvais, his Majesty is arrived at this town of Breda to meet the Scots Commissioners, who are likewise come, being the persons named in the enclosed note. Yesterday they delivered their letters, one from the Committee of Estates, the other from the Assembly of the Church, and gave in copies of their respective commissions and authorities, which are in their usual language. At the delivery of them, one of the ministers made a long speech to the king, wherein there was no-

¹ Carte’s Collection, i. p. 373.

thing extraordinary, *but the tone of the speaker and manner of the delivery being such as our ears have not been accustomed to.*" One can readily believe this; but Mr Long would perhaps have reported differently of the speech itself, if Mr Livingstone had not made the "delations" and "additions," and had introduced into it the "savorie" bits which his brother commissioners had persuaded him to omit.

It would seem that at this time an unnecessary delay occurred, from the desire of some of the Commissioners to see a little of the surrounding country. Their time was limited by the Scottish Parliament to thirty, or at most forty days, and yet a whole week was wasted before they gave in their papers; and after that, some of the party went to Antwerp and Brussels, where they spent eight or ten days in enjoying themselves.

The chief advisers of the King were the Dukes of Hamilton and Buckingham, the Marquis of Newcastle, and Mr Secretary Long; but the demands of the Scottish Commissioners were at first thought so unreasonable that they could by no possibility be yielded. Such, however, was the desire of all parties for an amalgamation that, by each dropping somewhat of their claims, an approach was in the end made to something like a settlement.

"We found the king," continues Livingstone, "of an courteous and tractable like disposition, which made some of us suspect that if all of our number had dealt alike earnestly, especially Lothian and Liberton, who most frequently and privatly resorted to court, but most of all Liberton, that the king at the first had granted all our desyres fully."

"None of us three ministers ever went to the king alone, but ofttest altogether, or at least two of us. We went but seldom; but whenever we went, so soon as the king knew, we had access and liberty to stay and speak so long as we pleased."

"One tyme, I lyeing [ill] of the megrim (a nervous headache), the other two having been at him, reported to me, that, having entered in some kinde of dispute with him about Episcopacy and ceremonies, they found he had been poisoned in his principles by those that had been with him;

denying [that] the Scripture was ane perfect rule in those things contraverted, and enquireing how people knew that it was the word of God, but by the testimony of the Church?"—Here Charles shewed himself a better theologian than Livingstone and his brethren, since nothing can be more certain than that the testimony of the church is of indispensable importance, not only to the divine origin of Episcopacy, but to the very canon of the New Testament. This holy volume did not fall down to us from heaven in the form in which we now possess it; but the books of which it consists (written at different times, by different persons, and for different purposes) were carefully selected *by the Church* from among many which claimed to be inspired. In truth, an appeal to the testimony of the early church, as supplementary to the New Testament, is the main point of difference between the Church of England on the one hand, and the Church of Rome, and the modern denominations, on the other; the former of these two substituting her own authority for the testimony of the early church, and the latter setting aside that testimony altogether.—“At the beginning of the treaty, it was reported to us by Liberton, that ane gentleman had come to the king from Paris, being sent by his mother, desyring that by all means he should close with the Scots.” “All the while, it was so looked upon that there were two factions at court, the one being the Queen’s faction, the other called Prince Rupert’s;” in other words, the Cavalier, and the Roma-Covenanting Factions; for, strange as it may seem, the Romish party were at all times anxious for the success of the Covenanters; because, being the two extremes which met, they were both co-operating for the overthrow of the Church of England, which was the *via media* between them, equally distant from both, and equally disliked by both.¹

¹ The Queen-mother acted with great disingenuousness in this matter; for while she favoured the covenanting, in opposition to the cavalier party, and thereby did what she knew very well her late husband would have disapproved of, she afterwards did all in her power to convert to Popery those members of the Church of England who were in her suite, by telling them that her son, in signing the covenant, had virtually abandoned their church! —See Carte’s Collections, i. p. 453.

This antagonism of parties, and conjunction of Romanism with Presbyterianism, gave great uneasiness to poor Livingstone, and the more so, because, in the Scottish Confession of Faith, the Pope is declared to be "Antichrist, and the Man of Sin." "All these things," he says, "made me always suspect there would be no blessing on the treaty, and many a time Mr Hucheson and I, whose chambers joyned close one to another, would confess one to another that we were glad when the treaty was like to break off, and sad when there was appearance of closing it." He then proceeds to give his reasons for this dissatisfaction, some of which were—that the King granted nothing but what he was in a manner forced to, and some things which he should and would have granted, were not even asked—the State Commissioners promised him a union of parties in Scotland in aid of his cause, which they might have known was an impossibility—they pretended that they had private instructions to guide them in addition to their official orders—and, in the end, they dispatched their Secretary with a copy of the treaty to Scotland, making themselves too sure that the Parliament would sanction every thing they had done. "All these things," adds our author, "I was unsatisfied with, and, in my own blunt way, declared the same as I had occasion to speak, but had not the abilitie or hardiness to debate or argue any of these things;" and then he goes on to censure himself for his timidity and irresolution.

But if Livingstone and his brother ministers were perplexed how to act, much more was Charles himself, though for very different reasons. The Queen and the Covenanters joined in urging him to go to Scotland on the terms of the latter. On the same side, though on somewhat different grounds, and impelled more by necessity than choice, were the Duke of Hamilton, and the Earls of Lauderdale, Callender, Carnwath, and Dunfermline, and the Prince of Orange himself. On the other side were nearly the whole of the king's court and personal followers, and what was more, his own conscience and decided predilections.

Mr Secretary Long, in the same letter I have quoted

above, states another difficulty in the way of the treaty, which I do not find mentioned elsewhere; "I the rather fear they (the Scots covenanters) will be rigorous in their demands, because the rebels of England make them large offers, to prevent them from agreeing with the king; as, £200,000 ready money; Berwick and Carlisle to be delivered to them; settling Presbyterian government; defending with their navy the Scots trade and commerce by sea, with other considerable advantages. These difficulties are in the way of our agreement. I beseech God to assist us in it, that we may use all necessary care and prudence to bring on a happy conclusion."

At this juncture, Charles received the news of Montrose's discomfiture and capture;¹ and also of a loss at sea sustained by the commander of his ships, Prince Rupert. This had the effect of disposing him to acquiesce in most of the Covenanters demands, as he had now no hopes from any other quarter. There was one other circumstance which turned the scale on the same side. He was waited upon by a person who came to him secretly from a body of Presbyterians in England, and promised him their co-operation if he would comply with the wishes of their friends in Scotland. These men had all been the enemies of Charles I. at the beginning of the Rebellion; but after his murder, they privately corresponded with their party in Scotland for the restoration of his son, and for the suppression of the Independents. Their efforts ended in no good to him, and in positive injury to themselves; for some of their leaders were executed for this very offence; but their offers of assistance at this time were sufficient to determine Charles and his adherents on going to Scotland with the Commissioners, when other motives for and against that measure seemed

¹ The following is extracted from the records of the Presbytery of St Andrews:—"May 15th (1650) *Thanksgiving for the victory against Graham*—the presbytery received a letter from the Commissioners of the General Assembly, shewing that Thursday the 23d of this instant, is appointed for a day of solemn thanksgiving to God for the late glorious and seasonable victory, against *excommunicate, bloody, perfidious James Graham and his associates*." If these men had had one grain of loyalty, they would have respected, or at least spared, the servant for the sake of the master.

about equally balanced.¹ This decision was come to on the very last day allowed by the Scots Parliament for the duration of the treaty, and Mr Secretary Dalrymple was sent home with the intelligence. But it may here be observed, that the ministers had no voice in the reception or rejection of this decision, and were not even allowed by their lay brethren to write home their opinion about it;² which seems a curious anomaly, and not very reconcilable with the extraordinary powers at that time claimed and possessed by the Kirk.

“The Saturday before the king left Breda to come to Scotland,” thus Livingstone goes on, “we got notice, about three or four a’clock in the afternoon, that he was to *communicate kneeling* to-morrow after. We that were Commissioners from the Church, prepared ane paper, and presented it to him; and both by the paper, and by speech, shewed *the sin of so doing, and provocation against God to procure the blasting of all his designs*, and what inconveniency it might bring on his bussiness, and confirmation to all his enemies, and what scandall to such as were honest; and how it was against that which he had granted in his concessions, and [would] confirm some to think he was but dallying with God and with us.”³ We left him to think

¹ In this year, though in what month it is uncertain, Charles applied by letter to the reigning Pope for pecuniary aid from his holiness, and, through him, from the other princes of Christendom, in his attempts to recover his dominions. In this letter he styles him *Beatissime Pater*; he reminds him of the Catholicity of his mother; and declares himself so far friendly to the same faith, as that he will grant full liberty of worship to his Catholic subjects, restore them their property lately confiscated by the English Parliament (“the enemies of God, of the church, and of monarchy;”) and will repeal all the penal laws which had been enacted against them. The English Parliament got hold of a copy of this letter; and, aware how odious the very name of Popery was to the Scots, published it with comments, in order to shew what an unfit person the Presbyterians had pitched upon for their Covenanted King.—(Somer’s Tracts, A. D. 1650). It does not appear that the Pope complied with Charles’s request, but there can be little doubt that he *could* have done more for him, at that time, than any prince in Europe. He probably dreaded the restoration of the Church of England, and was pleased to see Protestants quarrelling with one another.

² Life of Robert Blair by Row, (Wodrow Society Edition), pp. 226, 227.

³ Livingstone had an unaccountable feeling on this subject, for when on his death-bed, he gave utterance to these words, “The Lord was pleased to take

upon it till after supper; but when we went to him, we found him tenaciously resolute to continue his purpose. He said his father used allwayes to communicat at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsunday, and that he behooved to doe soe likewise, and that people would think strange of him if, having resolved to communicat, he should forbear it, and that he did it to procure ane blessing from God upon his intended voyage." Charles kept to his purpose, and received the communion from the hands of one of the banished bishops, namely, " Dr *Bramble*, who was once pretended Bishop of Doun," as Livingstone is pleased to style him.

The reader will scarcely recognise, under this name and designation, one of the most learned prelates, voluminous writers, and judicious reformers of the Irish Church—Dr *Bramhall*, Bishop of Derry, and afterwards Archbishop of Armagh. He had been stripped of all his property, as well personal as ecclesiastical, by the puritanical faction, had escaped with difficulty to the Continent, and was now at Breda; but in the biographical memoirs of him, I find no account of how he got there, or what part he took in the pending negotiation; though it is fair to suppose, from his eminent abilities, that his advice would not be without its weight. Livingstone speaks sneeringly of the ex-bishop; but, in truth, his education and habits, and above all, his religious prejudices, unfitted him so much as to comprehend either the Catholic faith, or the gigantic intellect of such a man as Bramhall.

Charles's court at Breda consisted of several noblemen and gentlemen, whom the prevalence of republicanism and fanaticism in Great Britain and Ireland had driven from their country. These were the Dukes of Hamilton and Buckingham, the Earls of Lauderdale, Dumfermline, and Cleveland, and Lord Wentworth, the latter's son; also, Lords Widdrington, Wilmot, Sinclaire, and Grandison, Sir R. Dalzel, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, Sir P. Musgrave, Sir Edward Walker, Dr Fraser (afterwards Sir Alexander

me when I was young, and to keep me on his side; for when I was at the College of Glasgow, he engaged me in ane opposition to kneeling at the communion."

Fraser of Durris), Mr Rogers, Mr Seymour, Mr Rothés, Dr Goff, Mr Harding, and about twelve or fourteen more of inferior rank ; the two last named being styled by the Covenanters “ corrupt chaplains,” that is, episcopal clergymen.

A modern writer calls these friends of the King, I know not on what authority, “ a train of unprincipled men ;” and certainly it has been the custom of their opponents to represent all “ Cavaliers” as loose both in their language and their morals. That some of the inferior grades were so, one can easily imagine ; and Sir Walter Scott, at any rate, has thought fit to make them so in his novels ; putting numerous oaths and dissolute speeches into their mouths, some of which had been much better omitted ; though this, perhaps, he has done chiefly for the sake of *effect*, and to furnish a contrast to the puritanical precision of the opposite party. But the upper ranks of the Cavaliers were, for the most part, so far from being “ unprincipled men,” that they were the very opposite ; and greatly superior to their contemporary opponents, as well as to their modern impugnors, in every thing that is estimable and noble. I cannot find that, with the exception of two or three of Charles’s numerous suite, any of them could be called “ unprincipled ;” unless by that word be understood, an extreme aversion for the religious fanaticism which had then overspread their native country,—“ Your friends the Cavaliers,” said a puritan to a royalist, “ are very dissolute and debauched.” “ True,” replied the latter, “ they have the infirmities of *men* ; but your friends the Roundheads, have the vices of *devils*—tyranny, rebellion, and spiritual pride.” Even Mr Macaulay admits that “ the Cavaliers had far more profound and polite learning than the Puritans, their manners were more engaging, their tempers more amiable, their tastes more elegant, and their households more cheerful.”

It was never meant by the Presbyterians, that any of Charles’s cavalier followers, on account of their “ malignancy” (which was then deemed much worse than moral profligacy, and punished far more severely by their own

"Act of Classes"¹), should accompany the king to Scotland; and yet, from its being his particular wish, and from the connivance of the lay Commissioners, they were permitted to do so. But we shall find, in the sequel of this narrative, that the ultra-covenanting party afterwards made it a special ground of complaint, that "some of the Commissioners were too forward to complete the treaty with the king; and when the parliament disapproved of some parts of it, they failed to intimate this to him; but, contrary to their instructions, allowed him, and a *wicked company of Scottish and English malignants* to embark for Scotland; and this too, after the discovery of his intercourse with the Marquis of Montrose, at the very time of the treaty, and without any evidence of a real change in him."

Mr Secretary Dalrymple had been sent to Scotland with an account of the progress of the treaty; and now a messenger, Edward Gillespie, returned with positive instructions not to bring the king back, unless he yielded more than he had already done. This delighted Livingstone and the ministers, but vexed the lay Commissioners, who thought that they would not get Charles at all, if they were over rigid in their demands. The message, it so happened, arrived when all the Commissioners were actually embarked at Scheveling, on board the small Dutch fleet which the Prince of Orange had provided for them, except Lords Cassills and Lothian, who were with the king at Unslodyke. The fleet here mentioned consisted of three ships, commanded by Van Tromp, son of the celebrated Dutch admiral of that name. The day on which the message arrived from Scotland, was Saturday, the 11th June. The Commissioners immediately disembarked, for the purpose of repairing to their two brethren and the king, with the fresh instructions they had received; but this was not easily accomplished. The wind did not admit of their landing at the nearest point which led to Unslodyke; but from the place where they did land (and that was not till midnight), they dispatched two couriers before them to acquaint the king and the two lords with what had occurred; and begging

¹ Concerning this "Act of Classes," see the sequel, under March 1651.

them not to embark till they should see them. “ We ourselves,” continues Livingstone, “ behooved to goe about by the Hague, and rode all night, and coming to Unslodyke about break of day, or a little after, found that the king and all were gone. We followed so fast as we could dryve to Tarhay ; but all were gone aboard. The two that we had sent mett the Lords, and spoke as we had desyred them, but they said Lothian would needs goe aboard with the king, and drew Cassills along with him. When we were standing amazed on the shoare, one Mr Webster of Amsterdam comes to go aboard, and warn the king that the Parliament of England had some twenty-two ships at sea to wait for him.”—These ships are stated elsewhere to have been under the command of Admiral Popham.—“ He going aboard in a boat, Liberton, without more adoe, runs to the boat to goe aboard to the rest, and after him Sir John Smith upon his call in the same boat. Brodie, Alexander Jaffray, and we three ministers, stayed. Some of us may say we never had ane heavier day than that Sabbath was. After prayer together and apart, when we were consulting what to doe, Mr James Wood his opinion was to go aboard, saying, it was a pity that the king and my Lord Cassills should be there and none to *preach*¹ to them. Brodie and Alexander Jaffray said, it was to be wished that they had stayed ashoare, but now as matters stood, it wes best to goe aboard and discharge their duty in [according to] the last instructions from the Parliament. Mr George Hucheson inclined to the same. For my part, I told I had no inclination, nor *no light*² to goe aboard. I thought both in regard of the prophane malignant companie, and in regard how matters stood in the treaty, we were taking along the plague of God to Scotland, [and] I should not desyre to goe along, but would goe back to Rotterdam, and come with the first conveniency I could. Hereat Mr Hucheson said he would goe along with me to Rotterdam. I urged him, that seeing *his light* served him to goe abroad, he would not draw

¹ Preaching was all in all with these ministers, as it still is with their successors ; divine worship is a secondary consideration.

² *i. e.* he had no evidence he was doing right.

back from it for me. I had Edward Gillespie, who brought us the Parliament's letters, and John Don, and my brother, Andrew Stevensone, to goe along with me. He persisted that he would goe with me, yet thereby my minde did not inclyne me to go aboard. By this time, ane boat comes from the king's ship, and letters from the two Lords, to desire us, as we would not marr the bussiness of the king and kingdome, to come aboard. Yet for all this my mind was bent for Rotterdam. At last, Brody and Mr Huchesone proponed ane overture that I should only goe in the boat to the ship's side, and there the rest to come down to the boat, that we might speak ane little of our bussiness, and I take my leave of them, and come ashoare again in the same boat. To this, although unwillingly, I agreed. When the boat was come to the ship's side, and the rest gone up, I stayed in the boat looking they should come down; but Cassills and Mr Hucheson came and called me up, saying, it would be unseemly for commissioners of the kingdom of Scotland, in sight of so many onlookers, to come to ane open boat to speak of any bussiness; I only should come a little to the gunner-room and speak with them, and the boat should be stayed till I should goe back. I went up, desyring an young man that was with me to wait that the boat did not goe away; but within a little time he comes and tells me the boat was gone and under sail. Whether this was done of purpose, men making an mock of my peevishness and folly, as they thought it, or otherwise, I will not determine; but I looked on myself as in little other condition than ane prisoner. That night, when they were consulting what to doe in reference to their last instructions, Lothian and Liberton were of the minde that no application by papers should be made to the king anent these last late instructions, till they were arrived in Scotland, saying, that if they did it, it would provock the king to take some other course, and not to goe to Scotland at all."

"The next day, I not being well, and having but very ill accommodation in that ship wherin the king was, Mr Jaffray and I went to the 'Sun of Amsterdam,' ane other of the three ships, and stayed there till Tuesday of the next week.

at which time, having had the winds alwayes contrary, we came all to ane anchor at Heligoland, in the mouth of the Elbe ; at which time, Mr Jaffray and I being called aboard the king's ship, and consultation being had what to doe in reference to the new instructions, if it had not been that Sir John Smith, who used not before in his vote to differ from Lothian and Liberton, had given his vote for applications, there had none been made before we had come to Scotland. But he and Brodie and Jaffray being for application, it was carried by one vote, and so papers were prepared and given to the king." The result was, that the king promised generally to do any thing that the parliament might require of him.

The very reverend John King, Dean of Tuam (who tells us he had his information from Mr Long, the King's Secretary) says, that " the Commissioners, in consequence of the first instructions they had received from Scotland, and the intelligence of Montrose's execution, demanded that the king should instantly sign the Covenants ; and also disown the peace which his Lieutenant the Marquis of Ormond had, in his majesty's name, recently made with the Irish," (and which his majesty had solemnly confirmed), because, in that treaty, " liberty of popish worship" was allowed them : " By which heightening of propositions," says the Dean, " his majesty was so disgusted, that he resolved to have landed in Denmark, and to lay aside all thoughts of coming to Scotland upon such terms ; but, overcome with the entreaties of his friends and servants, who laid before him the present sad condition of his affairs, he yielded."¹

Thus was the King forced by his own subjects to act against his convictions, in such a manner, that had *he* done the same towards the meanest of *them*, all Europe would have rung with the story of his oppression and intolerance. And it was surely a very bad beginning of an agreement with the Scots, when they insisted, and he consented, that he should violate an express treaty he had lately made with the Irish, that they should be indulged with liberty of conscience ; a liberty, indeed, which he was willing at this time to con-

¹ Carte's Collections, i. p. 396.

cede to all his subjects, but which the Covenanters denied both to the Irish and to himself, and to all who differed from them. And we may remark here, that Charles subsequently received far less benefit from the support of the Scots than he received injury from the Irish, for the violation of their treaty, as well as for his recognition of the Covenant, to which they, of course, were keenly opposed.

“ It was laid on me,” continues Livingstone, “ to preach the next Sabbath when he should swear it, and to read the National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant, and to take his oath ; the which day also we came to an anchor at the mouth of Spey. I would gladly have put it off, desyring it might be delayed till we were in Scotland, or that some of the other two ministers might preach ; but all the rest pressed me most earnestly, urging what a great scandal it would be, and how far honest men would be unsatisfied, if, the king offering to swear the Covenant, he should be rejected. According to my softness and silliness of disposition, I was moved to agree.” It is much to be regretted that his softness of disposition did not rather shew itself in urging the king not to sign a deed which every person knew was contrary to his conscience.

The following was the declaration annexed to the Covenantants :—“ I Charles, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, do assure and declare, by my solemn oath in the presence of the Almighty God the searcher of hearts, my allowance and approbation of the National Covenant, and of the Solemn League and Covenant above written, and faithfully oblige myself to prosecute the ends thereof, in my station and calling ; and that I, for myself and *successors*, shall consent and agree to all acts of Parliament enjoining the National Covenant, and Solemn League and Covenant, and fully establishing Presbyterial government, the Directory of Worship, the Confession of Faith and Catechisms, in the kingdom of Scotland, as they are approved by the General Assembly of this Kirk, and Parliament of this kingdom. And that I shall give my royal assent to the acts of Parliament enjoining the same *in the rest of my dominions* ; and that I shall observe them in my

royal practice and family, and shall make no opposition to any of these, or endeavour any change thereof."

Charles was anxious to qualify his subscription, to the effect, that he meant not thereby to infringe any existing law of England and Ireland. But this would not be listened to. "We all went to the king and told him we could not receive his oath if he added any one word to the words read, but would declare the oath no oath. *He pressed much and long that he behooved to doe it*, so that I began to be hopeful his swearing might be put off for that day." At last, however, he yielded and swallowed the bitter pill. Yet Livingstone was not satisfied; for he afterwards complained that he had been admitted to his government, "without any evidence of ane reall change in his heart, and without forsaking former principles, counsells, and company;" and Jaffray, in his "Diary," remarks, "We did sinfully both entangle and engage the nation and ourselves, and that poor young prince to whom we were sent; making him sign and swear a covenant which we knew, from clear and demonstrable reasons, that he hated in his heart. Yet, finding that upon these terms only, he could be admitted to rule over us (all other means having then failed him), *he* sinfully complied with what *we* most sinfully pressed upon him; where, I must confess, to my apprehension, *our* sin was more than *his*, &c. I spoke of this to the king himself, desiring him not to subscribe the Covenant, if, in his conscience, he was not satisfied; and yet we went on to close the treaty with him who, I knew so well, had for his own ends, done it against his heart." And what made this matter still worse was, that the very men who had obliged Charles to subscribe this obnoxious document, had not one particle more confidence in him after he had signed it than they had before; so that there was a twofold sin committed, and nothing gained by it but remorse and disappointment!

This violation of his conscience, and loss of his innocence, coupled with his appeal to heaven in attestation of his sincerity, was Charles's first downward step in his career of degradation. From this fatal moment he must have lost a large portion of his self-respect, and thereby greatly weaken-

ed his motives for amendment. He proceeded, under the same influence, from one degree of duplicity to a greater ; and he had the additional mortification of seeing that no good came, and of feeling that no good *could* come, out of a policy so tortuous and immoral.

A modern author of a " History of the Church of Scotland," strongly condemns Charles II. for signing the League and Covenant ; and yet, speaking of Charles I., he complains that that monarch was *prevented* from signing the same document " by the pernicious advice of his narrow-minded, selfish, prelatie counsellors." This is a singular inconsistency. Surely, when we disapprove of the sentiments contained in a document, we ought to refuse at once to have anything to do with it. Thus did Charles I., and thus his son *should* have done. But in the eyes of some writers, the unhappy Stewarts were wrong in every thing they did.

Charles, we have seen, had been made aware that the English parliament had dispatched armed ships to intercept him in his passage to Scotland ; but by steering a somewhat circuitous course, he was fortunate enough to escape them. In nine days his fleet arrived at Holy Island, where they remained a short time to take in water and provisions. Sailing again, they entered the Murray Frith, on Saturday the 22d June. Here they ran a narrow risk of being captured ; for it was found that the English ships that were in pursuit of them, had sailed out of the Frith on the preceding day !

As soon as the fleet came to anchor, Livingstone sat down and wrote the following letter to his friend and correspondent Mr Robert Douglas, dating it " a boord the Sluidam of Amsterdam, laying at anchor at the mouth of Spey, Sabbath, 23 June 1650."—" Reverend and Dear Brother,—About 10 or 11 a'clock, we came to anchor after much tosseing. All the particulars mentioned in your last letters are holpen ; and the king hath granted all desyred, and this day hath sworne and subscribed the two Covenants in the words of your last declaration, and with assurance to renew the same at Edinburgh, when desyred. What diffi-

culties we have had, and what deliveries, wee hope to impart at meeting. For the heart, the Lord judgeth; bot for the outward part, I think you shall not desiderate anything. I say no more. Mr Hutcheson is goeing to sermon, and we are not to goe ashoare till to-morrow. The Lord's blessing be on his work and people, and you all. Your loving brother.

JOHNE LIVINGSTONE.”¹


In the 14th volume of the Statistical Account of Scotland, published in 1791–9, under the head of Speymouth, I find the following allusion to the King's landing;—“ Charles II. landed at Speymouth from Holland in the year 1650. Some say, he arrived first at Cromarty. It is certain, however, he came by sea to Spey; as the descendants of a man of the name of Milne, who carried his majesty on shore, are still in Garmouth, and are distinguished from others of that name, in the same place, by the name of ‘ King Milnes,’ from that circumstance. He was here received by the Laird of Innes and other gentlemen; and dined with the factor of Lord Dumfermline, who lived in Garmouth, in a house which was only lately taken down.” Among others who received him at landing, were Mr Arthur Erskine of Scotsraig, and Mr Secretary Dalrymple. After dinner, he was conducted to the Bog of Gicht, now Gordon Castle (near Fochabers, a few miles distant), in which the Parliament had placed a garrison.

¹ Wodrow Society Biographies, vol. i. p. 259.



PERSONAL HISTORY
OF
KING CHARLES THE SECOND.

ANNO 1650.

 S soon as it was known that the King had positively come to Scotland, the Parliament, which did not scruple to exercise the most absolute sovereignty over the Sovereign himself, ordained that "his Majesty should come from Aberdeen to Dunottar; from thence to Kin-naird, the Earl of Southesk's house; thence to Dundee; from it to St Andrews, and then to his own house at Falkland." In fulfilment of this order, the first thing the lay part of the Commissioners did, on their landing at Speymouth, was to write the following letter to the Magistrates of Aberdeen:—

"Speymouth, 23d June (Sunday) 1650.

"Worshipful and good friends,—We have directed these to let you know that the King is safely arrived, and intends, if God permits, to be at Aberdeen on Thursday at night. Therefore ye will take such care to provide such lodgings for him, and for the Commissioners, and for the train, as may be best had on so short advertisement. And we beseech you, let nothing be wanting which may testify your affection to

the native King, who has fully assured all the desires of his people. No farther, but we are your very assured friends,

“CASSILIS. J. BRODIE. J. SMITH.

“LOTHIANE. GEO. WYNRAM. AL. JAFFRAY.”

Charles could not have been more than two days at the Bog of Gicht. There is a tradition that, on his way from that citadel to Aberdeen, he stopped at Culsalmond, during the week of the annual fair which was held at that place, and that he slept at the mansion-house of Shulagreen in the neighbourhood, then belonging to one of the Gordons. Charles had sent a message to Leslie of Pitcaple, a few miles farther on, to intimate his purpose of dining with him next day; and this gentleman, fearing that he might not have wine enough in his cellar for the numerous suite which he heard accompanied his Majesty, immediately bought up all the *claret* which was on sale at the fair, in anticipation of the demand that might be made on his hospitality. The remainder of the tradition is, that a ball was given to the King and his followers, on the lawn in front of Pitcaple House, under a large thorn tree, which is said to be still in existence. At some part of the entertainment, when the King was seated with the Duke of Buckingham on his right, and the Marquis of Argyll on his left hand, among the multitude of spectators, perched on the top of an adjoining dyke, was a female called the “Good Wife of Glack,” who, nothing daunted by the presence of so many important personages, exclaimed with a shrill voice, “God bless your Majesty, and send you to your ain; but they on your left hand, wha helped to tak off your father’s head, if ye takna care, will tak aff yours neist.”

When Charles crossed the river Ury, on his departure from Pitcaple, he was much struck with the beauty and luxuriance of the crops, observing, that the scene reminded him of “dear England.” The farm to which this remark was applied, soon after got the name of “England,” and is, I am informed, so called to this day.¹

The King arrived at Aberdeen on the day appointed,

¹ Parish of Chapel Garioch, Aberdeenshire.—New Statistical Account.

Thursday the 27th June, and was lodged in a merchant's house near the Tolbooth. The Provost, Robert Farquhar of Mounie (whom Charles knighted), and the Magistrates, entertained him with every mark of distinction, delivered to him the keys of their city, and defrayed all his expenses out of the public funds. They also made him a present of £1500 Scots; but the Parliament, when they heard of it, jealous of the power which such pecuniary gifts might confer upon him, sent an order to the other burghs through which he might pass, forbidding them to shew him any similar marks of their loyalty.

Kennedy, in his *Annals of Aberdeen*, i. p. 227, gives the following entry of the King's expenses when at that city;—"To gold and silver ribands, and other articles to the *maiden*, &c. £129 : 0 : 4 Scots." From this it has been supposed that the King had a *mistress* in his suite (and from hence an argument has been drawn for his profligate habits, even at this early period), and that this mistress could be no other than Lucy Walters, the mother of the Duke of Monmouth. But as we find no other allusion, except this very doubtful one, to such a personage in any contemporary authority, and as we may be quite sure that the rigid Covenanters would never have permitted a female of that description to be about the King, we are justified in concluding, that the word "*maiden*" must have had reference to some other person; and this person, in all probability, was a female who was a customary appendage to processions in honour of a Sovereign, and was meant to personate a guardian angel, a nymph, or a goddess of one of the virtues.¹ Some writer has truly said, that the scandal about kings and queens is sure to float down the stream of history, when other and more durable matter passes by unheeded.

But if Charles was gratified by the loyalty and generosity of the Aberdeen magistrates, he was shocked beyond measure at the spectacle which here met his eyes, of the mutilated leg and foot of his friend the brave Montrose, who had been executed by the Scots Covenanters about a month

¹ At Charles the Second's Coronation, in 1661, several females, or "*maidens*," personated nymphs.

before, at Edinburgh, under circumstances of extreme barbarity; and his four limbs distributed to the same number of the chief towns in Scotland.¹ This, one should have thought, might of itself have been enough to deter Charles from proceeding any further in a cause which, it was evident, could lead to no satisfactory conclusion. Even the very day of his arrival in Scotland, these same Covenanters had executed a Captain Charteris, another of his faithful adherents. And on the 25th, two days after his arrival, the Commission of the General Assembly of the Kirk shewed how they felt towards the King's friends, however they might affect to feel towards himself personally; for they announced, that "they who are tainted with malignancy and disaffection in the cause of God, should not be allowed or permitted to associate or join with us, or be used or employed in our armies; that we have solemnly engaged ourselves against this, and should be desperately perverse to hazard upon it; that it were to give great encouragement to sectaries, to discourage the hearts, and weaken the hands of men of integrity and godliness, who could hardly expect a blessing in the following of such; that it were [to depart] from the words of our own former confessions and engagements unto duties, and to proclaim judgment upon the land till it be consumed without remedy; and that it were a shame for any in this land to be so faithless and unbelieving as, because of the scarceness of men, to make use of such." Most people, in the present times, will think that the "desperate perverseness" was all on the side of those who could give utterance to such sentiments.

But whatever were the feelings of the leaders in the Kirk and State towards the King, there can be no doubt that the people generally were extremely loyal. Nicoll tells us, "that as soon as the news of the King's arrival reached Edinburgh,

¹ The Aberdeen limb would seem to have been removed from its pinnacle at the time Charles was in the town, and buried in the church-yard. After the Restoration, it was taken up by order of the Magistrates, and put into a coffin covered with crimson velvet. After lying in state for some time in the town-house, it was delivered to Henry Graham of Morphie, for interment in the burial-place of the family.

which was on the 26th¹ at night, all signs of joy were manifested through the whole kingdom, namely, and in a special manner at Edinburgh, by setting forth of *bailfires*, ringing of bells, sounding of trumpets, and dancing almost all that night through the streets. The poor kail (vegetable) wives at the Trone sacrificed their maunds and creels, and the very stools they sat upon in the fire. After a great volley of muskets from the Castle, followed twenty-three great pieces of ordnance.”²

The Parliament at the same time deputed Commissioners to the King, two from each estate, to congratulate him on his arrival in Scotland, and to say how glad they were to hear that *it had pleased God to move his heart to give satisfaction to their desires*; which must seem strange language to those who knew, as they could hardly fail to know, the real motives by which he was actuated. But they accompanied this mark of their civility with a peremptory order to dismiss from his presence, and send back to the Continent, with a very few exceptions, the noblemen and gentlemen who had come with him from Holland, for no other reason than because they were “malignants,” or non-covenanters; and some of whom had given special umbrage by their zealous exertions in favour of the late King. The only excepted persons were, the Duke of Buckingham, Dr Fraser, Mr Seymour, and Mr Rhodes. This exception in favour of the profligate though talented Buckingham, was disgraceful to those who permitted him to remain near the person of the King. “The Duke of Buckingham,” says Burnet, “took all ways possible to gain Lord Argyll and the ministers; only his dissolute course of life was excessive scandalous, which, to their great reproach, they connived at, because he advised the King to put himself wholly into their hands. The King was much offended that the Duke of Hamilton was put away from him; but the Duke himself told him, that Argyll being

¹ So then it took four days for the news to travel from Aberdeen to Edinburgh, which would go now in about the same number of hours.

² Balfour's *Annals, sub anno*. One of the “kail wives” who was thus jovial and loyal, is said to have been Janet Geddes, who, thirteen years before, threw the stool at the Dean of Edinburgh's head while in the act of reading the Liturgy!

the person who could do him most service, or most injury, he advised him to use all lawful means to keep in favour with him ; adding, that he knew, when his Majesty's affairs were in a better posture, he would not forget his faithful servants. So the Duke was forced to retire to the Isle of Arran, where he stayed till the end of the following January ; nor could his petitions prevail all that time for liberty to come and fight for his King and country, till the best half of Scotland was overrun by the enemy."¹ Lords Wilmot and Wentworth, and Messrs Harden and Long, were permitted to remain in Scotland for the present, but were warned " not to come within the range of the Court, or to have access to his Majesty." As to the rest, though some of them petitioned to remain, for the sole purpose of looking after their private affairs, their petitions were rejected, and they were threatened with a prosecution for a contempt of Parliament in case of disobedience. There is, however, some obscurity as to this matter. A certain number of the King's followers seem to have left Scotland immediately ; but, from some unexplained cause, the stay of the others was connived at. How they disposed of themselves does not clearly appear. The Earl of Dunfermline must have been permitted to retire to his own house, as he received the King there in the following month. Mr Secretary Long lived at St Andrews ; while the Earl of Lauderdale and others found shelter among their friends, till there was a relaxation of the laws in favour of " malignants," when they were enabled to rejoin their master. Among those who remained was Sir Edward Walker, Garter-King-at-arms, who has left us a narrative of what occurred down to the month of October in this year, at which time the Covenanters compelled him, and most of the others, to withdraw to the Continent.

The session of the existing Parliament closed on the 4th of July ; but, before adjourning, they nominated a " Committee of Estates," to carry on the government till next session should commence, which was not to be till the 28th November following. And as the term " Commission" will

¹ Burnet's *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*, p. 423.

frequently occur in this narrative, it may be necessary to say here, that it means the Commission of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Kirk of Scotland. The Assembly itself met only once a year, and that for about ten days ; but its Commissioners, who consisted of but a few ministers and elders, met as often as circumstances required ; and possessed at this time almost unlimited authority in matters ecclesiastical, and no small authority in matters civil also, through the medium of its lay elders. The most influential person, both in Kirk and State, at the time now under review, was the Marquis of Argyll ; for being a member of the Committee of Estates by virtue of his rank, and also a member of the Commission as an elder, he and his party enjoyed extraordinary powers ; and the rule of their conduct towards the King was to shew every mark of respect to his person, but to heap every indignity on his favourites and followers, with the few exceptions just mentioned. They were desirous of getting him exclusively into their own hands, that they might mould him to their will. They waited on him with the formalities used to princes, and provided him with a well served table, good horses and servants ; but for many months they excluded him from their counsels, and treated him little better than a state prisoner. Thus, on the 5th July, they proclaimed him at the Cross of Edinburgh, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, with the customary ceremonies ;¹ but they, at the same time, surrounded him with the most rigid Covenanters, whose business it was to report upon his actions, and instil into him, if possible, their peculiar tenets. They also appointed a body-guard of cavalry to attend him, under the command of the Earl of Eglinton ; and one of infantry under the command of Lord Lorne, Argyll's eldest son, and also of Colonel James Wallace, afterwards the insurgent leader at the Pentland Hills ; which officers had strict orders, under the show of

¹ He had been proclaimed before, immediately after his father's murder, conditionally, however, on his taking the Covenants ; but it was afterwards objected by the ultra-covenanters that this had been done " without setting any time apart to seek the Lord for counsel and direction therein ;" as if they expected a miraculous interposition to inform them whether they were to proclaim the King or not !

doing him honour, to keep a strict watch over his person. The inscription on the standard of his body-guard was "Covenant, Religion, King, and Country." In the following year, there is a petition to Parliament from Lord Lorne, that the foot-guard may receive one recruit out of each infantry regiment, thus making them 1200 strong; and also that "they may all have coats of one colour."

Great difficulty was experienced in raising of a suitable revenue for the King and his household. A Committee was appointed to inquire into the state of what had been the Crown revenues; the list of pensions was strictly examined, and those which did not appear well deserved were recalled; and, if I understand Balfour rightly, a monthly allowance of £9000 sterling was settled on the royal establishment.¹ The Marquis of Argyll was Master and Treasurer of the Household, and often complained of the difficulty of raising funds to defray the King's necessary expenses. Even so late as March in the following year, we find him laying before Parliament "the case and condition of his Majesty's household through the want of money;" and lamenting that, notwithstanding his frequent representations, nothing had been done to remedy this grievance. It was then proposed to impose a poll-tax upon all persons above seven years of age within the realm, for this exclusive purpose; but as the country was already overburthened with taxation, it is doubtful if this tax was ever attempted to be raised. In fact, the country never was in a more oppressed and impoverished condition than at this time, owing to the exactions of the English wherever they quartered themselves, and the equally oppressive exactions which the Scottish soldiery were themselves compelled to levy for their necessary support.

But we must now return, and follow the King's route from Aberdeen, where, as already observed, he had been at once gratified by the civilities of the Magistrates, and distressed by the sight of the mangled remains of his friend Montrose, publicly displayed on the Tolbooth. At Aberdeen he stayed only one night, and then proceeded to Dunottar, near

¹ Balfour's Ann. iv. pp. 71, 79. The Thurlow State Papers say that the ancient revenue of the Scottish Kings had been reduced at this time to £17,610 : 18 : 8.

Stonehaven, now a ruin, but at that time a strong castle on the sea-shore, belonging to the Earl Marischall. There he remained the next night, which was Friday the 28th June. He then proceeded to Kinnaird House, the seat of the Earl of Southesk, where he remained all Saturday and Sunday. On Monday he went to the house of Viscount Dudhope (afterwards Earl of Dundee), near Dundee, where he was hospitably entertained, as well by that nobleman as by the Provost and burgesses of the town. Here he met once more his shipmate Livingstone, who took upon himself, in virtue, I suppose, of having been one of his advisers at Breda, to give his Majesty a piece of advice, which we will allow him to describe in his own simple, though not very accurate language. "After I had spoke some things anent his carriage, I proponed that he saw the English army, animated with many victories, was, for his sake, coming in upon Scotland, which at present was in a very low condition; and, therefore, that his Majesty with his Council might advise some way to divert that present chock, by some declaration, or some way wherein he needed not any way quite or weaken his right to the Crown of England, but only to shew that, for the present, he was not to prosecute his title by the sword, but wait till their confusions were evanished, they were in better case to be governed; and till he were called by the people there, which, I was confident, a short while good government in Scotland would easily produce. He was not pleased to relish the motion, but said he hoped I would not wish him to sell his father's blood. By that, and some other passages of my life, I gathered that either I was not called to meddle in any publick state matters, or that my meddling should have small success." This was certainly a very wise conclusion on the part of Mr Livingstone, but it is a pity he did not arrive at it sooner. This minister shortly after retired from the field of politics, severely accusing himself of having had a hand in bringing the King to Scotland, to which he ascribed all the blood that was shed in the war that followed. After the Restoration, for nonconformity, and for refusing to take the oath of allegiance, he was banished to Holland, where he died in 1672.

After a stay of three days at Dudhope Castle, Charles crossed the Tay, and went to St Andrews on the 4th July. When he arrived at the West Port of this City, the silver keys were delivered to him by the Provost, and he was welcomed by Mr Andrew Honeyman, one of the ministers of the parish. When he came opposite the gate of St Mary's College, Principal Rutherford made a Latin oration to him, "running much," says Lamont, "on the duties of kings;" telling him that if he kept not the Covenants, it was all over with him and his kingdom. It would have been much more to the purpose, if some one had read this reverend gentleman a homily "on the duties of subjects." His Majesty lodged in a house which had belonged to Hugh Scrimgeour, "near the Abbey," probably the same in which his great-grand-mother, Queen Mary, had lived eighty-seven years before. On the same day, Mr Robert Blair (who had not long before assisted at the judicial murder of the King's best friends in this very city of St Andrews, namely, Sir Robert Spotswood, Colonel Gordon, Captain Guthrie, and the Honourable Mr Murray), preached a sermon before him from Ps. xx. 1, 2, 3, and 4. When it was over, Charles paid a visit to the preacher at his own house, knowing it to be of the utmost importance to his cause to conciliate the ministers. As soon as he had entered the room, Mrs Blair ran to offer him a chair, "My heart," said her husband, "he is a young man, and can help himself,"—a good specimen of the much vaunted loyalty of the Covenanting ministers!¹

"On the 6th July," says Lamont, "leaving St Andrews, the King came to Cupar, where he got some desert to his four-hours.² The place where he sat down to eat was the Tolbooth. The town had appointed Mr Andrew Anderson, schoolmaster there for the time, to give him a music song or two while he was at table. Mr David Douglas had a speech to him at his entry to the town. After this, he

¹ This anecdote has been told of the Rev. James Guthrie of Stirling, as well as of Blair.

² A meal between dinner and supper, so named from the *hour* at which it was taken.

went to Falkland all night. At this time the most part of the gentlemen of the shire did go along with him. The time that he abode at Falkland, he went down one day and dined at the Earl of Wemyss' house, and another at Lesley, with the Earl of Rothes." Here also he was waited upon by the Marquis of Argyll, the Earls of Buccleugh and Wemyss, Sir A. Johnstone, and Sir John Chiesley, besides the ministers Dickson, Durham, and Guthrie.

"On the 7th of this month," says the same authority, "was a Fast appointed by the Commission of the General Assembly, the chief causes of which were, the threatening Sectarian army of English—the *abounding of sorcery*—and that the Lord would countenance the following Annual General Assembly."

The Assembly here alluded to met at Edinburgh on the 10th, under the Moderatorship of Andrew Cant, and extended its sittings to the 24th; but no official record of its proceedings has been preserved, and very little has been gleaned from other sources. The King addressed to them "a very kind and loving letter." They sent three ministers to congratulate him on his coming among them, and they appointed Mr Robert Blair as his permanent chaplain; but as he was at this time unwell, they deputed two to minister to him and his household in the interval, namely, Messrs Moncrieff, and Mackgill. At this Assembly the clerical commissioners Livingstone and Hutchinson, were called on to relate the whole proceedings of the treaty of Breda; but as it was thought advisable to keep matters quiet for the present, they were recommended, at a previous *private* meeting of the ministers, to suppress every thing "that might make the King or his way odious on the entry of his government," particularly the kneeling at the communion, which they did accordingly; and thus the whole treaty was approved, and the Commissioners thanked for their "great pains, fidelity, and constancy."¹ It is also stated, that at this Assembly the Duke of Hamilton, and the Earls of Crawford and Lauderdale, were desirous of becoming reconciled to the Kirk, by declaring their sorrow for the late "unlawful

² Life of Robert Blair, p. 231.

engagement" in favour of Charles I. But their cases were referred to the Assembly's Commission. The only other act of this Assembly, that we know of, is, that they solemnly warned the State against employing any "who are tainted with malignancy," in opposing the English army then preparing to invade Scotland under General Cromwell. We shall see the consequences of this advice when we come to the battle of Dunbar.

Now that we have brought Charles in safety to his palace of Falkland, it may be curious to return to the Continent, and see how his friends there were writing concerning him. The following extracts of letters from the celebrated poet Cowley to Mr Henry Bennet (afterwards Earl of Arlington, and Charles's principal Secretary of State), may be thought interesting:¹—

"Paris, June 20th.—I hear from Calais that the King embarked at Sheveling the 10th of this month, and had a fair wind for his voyage to Scotland; but my Lord Byron's not arriving here yet (who was to be dispatched immediately on the King's parting), makes us have some doubts of this intelligence; and there is lately information come from Scotland, which, if it meet the King before his landing there, may possibly have altered his resolution. We have been often troubled to understand the Scots' motions, they are so obscure and so irregular; but they never did anything more unsearchable than one proceeding of theirs since the treaty; and that is, that they have banished my Lord Duke Hamilton, Lord Lauderdale, and others, without any intimation of such an intent during the treaty; and my Lord Callender, arriving at the Forth some few days since, was not suffered to land, but sent back immediately to Holland. Some say he is one of the banished persons, which yet renders the business more mystical.² In fine, nothing but

¹ See Brown's *Miscellanea Aulica*. Before the death of Charles I., Cowley's occupation at Paris was to cypher and decypher the letters which passed between him and his Queen.

² The Duke of Hamilton, and the Earls of Lauderdale and Callender, besides others, had been forbidden, by an act of the Scottish Parliament of the 18th May, to return "from beyond seas, until they gave satisfaction to the Church and State."—Balfour's *Annals*, iv. p. 14. This news, it would seem, had

time can explain this ; and he that will undertake to comprehend these men's actions, and reconcile them with themselves, and with their professions, the next task I would set him upon, should be to write a Commentary on the Revelations," &c.

" Paris, July 9.—It is now 28 days since the King embarked, and yet we hear nothing of or from him, but uncertain and contrary reports, of which the most probable seems to be that of his landing in Orkney ; for he bore up towards Norway, and if his voyage had been shorter, we should undoubtedly have heard sooner of him. It is hard to say what kind of reception he will find. This is evident, that the Scots will endeavour to defer the war with England as long as they can ; and, if that be not possible, to manage it only by presbyterian hands, if that be possible too, which I hope it will not, when once they are engaged in it, and shall be nearer prest by their fears of ruin than by their hopes of an incommunicable victory," &c.

" Paris, July 16.—It is a wonderful thing that now after six weeks that the King is parted, we have no certain news of him. Some report that he landed at Orkney, others at Edinburgh, and others (which is the latest information) at Spey, near Aberdeen ; that, being pursued by the Parliament ships, he put himself and most of his company into three fishermen boats, and so got thither ; whilst his own ships were still followed by the English, who knew not that he had quitted them. This relation was brought here by a Dutch gentleman, who had it later than the last written letters from Holland, so that it cannot yet be confuted though it should be false," &c.

After what we have already seen in the Introduction regarding the King's landing at Speymouth, it is unnecessary to add that these rumours were almost wholly unfounded.

The next letter is of July 23d, but it contains merely

not reached Holland till after Charles and his suite had embarked. Lord Callender preceded the King to Scotland, and had landed, but was obliged to re-embark after a few days, and leave the country.—*Ibid.* p. 25. Well might this conduct on the part of the Scottish Parliament to the King's best friends, appear to Mr Cowley " obscure, irregular, and unsearchable."

some speculations on the probable result of the war between England and Scotland. The one following is dated August 6th, in which Mr Cowley says,—“ I cannot tell you in what condition the King is in Scotland, for though undoubtedly he has been received with all public significations and welcome, yet there is a villainous report flies about of the commanding all his old servants that waited upon him thither, to leave the kingdom, or at least the court ; but we have nothing from authentic hands, nor can I tell you in what condition Scotland is for the defence of him and itself ; nor whether Cromwell be yet advanced as far as Berwick ; nor what the Presbyterians and the King’s old party are like to do upon this great opportunity in several parts of England, of which we are bidden to hope all, but must do it yet very implicitly.” The next letter is dated August 13th, in which he writes,—“ We have at last some letters from the King’s company. Never-failing Mr Boswell is arrived from Holland, and has sent them to us. He himself is by this time, I suppose, gone back to the King. They import that he is most affectionately received by the whole nation ; that they are united as one man in his and their own defence, and have already raised very considerable numbers, a part of which, as Mr Boswell reports (at least 16,000 horse and foot, which is more than Cromwell carries against them) are encamped at Dunse, and had, before he came away (which was on the 15th of last month from Falkland), taken three troops of English horse, and expected daily to see the whole English army ; so that without doubt, there has been much action before this time ; and we have flying reports here of losses and revolts from Cromwell, but I dare not yet bite at them. One thing our letters bring (which though it be inevitable, is to be looked upon as most ill news), is the proceeding of the Scots against the English that waited upon the King thither, the particulars of which you will find in the enclosed list of names. Whether this be a bigotry of the ministers, or a jealousy of the King’s old party, or a pure enmity and animosity against us, I know not ; but sure I am that it will make the work infinitely more hazardous, and even if

they should prevail, less advantageous to the King and all his friends," &c. But we must suspend these extracts for the present, and give one or two more of them when we are farther advanced in our history.

I have already hinted at the rigid treatment to which the King was subjected, and this may be the proper time to say a little more on that subject. "The Presbyterian ministers," says Clarendon, "were in such a continual attendance about him, that he was never free from their importunities, under pretence of instructing him in their religion; and so they obliged him to their constant hours of long prayers, and made him observe the Sundays with more rigour than the Jews were accustomed to do their Sabbaths; and reprehended him very sharply if he smiled on those days, and if his looks and gestures did not please them; whilst all their prayers and sermons, at which he was compelled to be present, were libels and bitter invectives against all the actions of his father, the idolatry of his mother, and his own malignity." Bishop Burnet gives his personal testimony to the same effect:—"The King," he says, "wrought himself into as grave a deportment as he could; he heard many prayers and sermons, some of great length. I remember one Fast-day, *there were six sermons preached without interruption*. I was there myself,¹ and not a little weary of so tedious a service. The King was not allowed so much as to walk abroad on Sundays; and if at any time there had been any gaiety, such as dancing, or playing at cards, he was severely reprov'd for it. This was arranged with so much rigour, and so little discretion, that *it contributed not a little to beget in him an aversion to all sort of strictness in religion*." These zealots might have known that extreme relaxation is the natural effect of extreme restraint, and

¹ It is to be observed, however, that at this time Burnet was scarcely eight years old. Matters seem to have been much in the same state in England at this time. The author of Philip Henry's Life, says, that "he attended constantly upon the monthly fasts at St Margaret's (Westminster), where some of England's best and ablest ministers preached before the then House of Commons; and the service of the day was carried on with great strictness and solemnity, *from eight in the morning till four in the evening*."

that a period of constrained hypocrisy is commonly followed by a period of unbridled indulgence.

What must have made the matter doubly disagreeable to the King, was the custom, then prevalent among preachers, of dividing a sermon into a multitude of heads, and each of these again into several divisions and subdivisions; so that not only would the one sermon tend to drive the other out of the hearer's head, but even the numerous divisions of the same sermon could scarcely fail to bewilder him. Perhaps the ministers meant these inflictions as a penance for his sins and those of his forefathers, and a very irksome penance it must have been. And what made it more so, was their representing these sins as the chief cause of the calamities which had befallen their country, though in truth they would have been nearer the mark had they ascribed them to their own infatuation and rebellion.

Sir Walter Scott, in his "Tales of a Grandfather," tells the following anecdote of the King, which probably occurred at this time:—

"It is said that, on one occasion, a devout lady who lived opposite to the royal lodgings, saw from her window the young King engaged in a game at cards, or some other frivolous amusement,¹ which the rigour of the Covenanters denounced as sinful. The lady communicated this important discovery to her minister, and it reached the ears of the Commission of the Kirk, who named a venerable member of their body to rebuke the monarch personally for this act of backsliding. The clergyman to whom this delicate commission was entrusted was a shrewd old man, who saw no great wisdom in the proceedings of his brethren, but executed their commission with courtly dexterity, and summed up his ghostly admonition with a request that, when his Majesty indulged in similar recreations, he would be pleased to take the precaution of shutting the windows. The King laughed, and was glad to escape so well from the apprehended lecture."

Many similar scenes must have occurred, had the re-

¹ See a less delicate version of this story, in the "Memoirs of Sir Ewen Cameron," p. 91.

membrance of them been preserved. It is said that, in after life, Charles was so fond of relating his adventures in Scotland, and anecdotes of presbyterian rigidity, that he would repeat them many times to the same persons, thinking, perhaps, that a good story was not the worse of being several times told, and knowing that his hearers were generally too well bred to shew symptoms of impatience. The witty Earl of Rochester, however, who had no fears of offending him, told him one day, that "he wondered to see one have so good a memory as to repeat the same anecdote without omitting the least circumstance, and yet not remember that he had told it to the very same persons the day before!"

Little occurred at Falkland during the King's stay there, except that many of the nobility and gentry paid their respects to him. None, however, except those who had subscribed the Covenants, were permitted to have any private conversation with him, but were compelled to withdraw immediately after kissing his hand. Among those who presented themselves was the Earl of Carnwath, who had lately returned from Holland. He was told by the Marquis of Argyll that it was great presumption in him to come thither, being in his condition.¹ The Earl went to the King, and told him that it was evident that "friends must part, and hoped he had none about him less faithful than himself." Then turning to Argyll, he said,—“This is your doing, but I value it not.” Shortly afterwards, in the royal presence, he appealed to the Earl of Cassillis, who was standing on the one side of the “Cloth of State,” while Johnston of Warriston and Sir John Chiesley were on the other side. The Rev. James Wood who was present, beckoned to the Earl to leave the apartment, with which command he complied, first saying to Wood, “Sir, God, I hope, will forgive me, will not you?” But Wood turned from him in a contemptuous manner, and made no reply. The Earl immediately departed, though not before Johnston and Chiesley had sent orders to Sir James Balfour, Lyon-King-

¹ The existing “Act of Classes,” rendered him incapable of serving his Majesty, because he had been a party to the “Engagement.”

at-Arms, "to take and hang him presently, unless he went from the Court." The Earl was soon afterwards committed a prisoner to the Tolbooth of Edinburgh; but he was not long there, as he next year accompanied the King into England, and fell into the hands of Cromwell after the battle of Worcester.

Though the Covenanters had permitted the Duke of Hamilton, and some others of the King's personal friends, to remain for the present in Scotland, not only did they keep them at a distance from the Court, but they exercised a constant watch over their behaviour, and, it would appear, subjected them to great inconveniences. The following private letter from the King to the Duke, exhibits much sympathy and disinterestedness in the former, shewing that he was more concerned about his friends' sufferings than his own.—

"My Lord Hamilton, I am sure there is no body that is more concerned with the rigidness of this Kirk and State towards you than I am; and I desire you to let me know if I can do any thing that can take off their cruelty, either by writing, or by any way else. Pray let all your friends know how sensible I am of their sufferings, knowing it is only for my sake, and that I am very much grieved that I am not in a better condition to let them see it; but I hope mine will mend, and then I am sure theirs shall be better. The Doctor has acquainted me with the business concerning Sir J. Scot. I do assure you I will do nothing in it, but what you shall direct me in; in this, and in all things else, you shall ever find me to be, your most affectionate friend,

"CHARLES R." ¹

"Falkland, July 17."

It is the policy, or the prejudice, of certain writers of the present day, to represent Charles *as at this time* dissipated and depraved. Thus, one of them speaks of his "loose, licentious habits, and depraved heart," and that "nothing was to be expected from him but duplicity and gross licentiousness."

¹ See the Letters annexed to Dalrymple's Account of Charles II.'s escape from Worcester. 8vo, 1766.

Another writer of the same school says, that “ the Scottish Commissioners brought him from amidst the debaucheries in which he was indulging at Breda, to replace him on the throne of his fathers.” And I am sorry to find so respectable an author as Sir Walter Scott, in his “ Woodstock,” giving countenance to this notion ; which, however it might suit his purpose as a novelist, is just as unfounded in fact, as that Charles was ever near Wookstock at all, in his flight from Worcester. Of the King’s “ duplicity” I have already spoken, and may again speak in the course of this narrative, —a duplicity of which the Covenanters were more the authors and promoters than Charles himself ; but I maintain that there is no good ground for accusing him, previous to and during his stay in Scotland, of that “ licentiousness” into which, it is admitted, he fell subsequently. We have seen that Livingstone speaks of “ his courteous and tractable disposition” while at Breda. Principal Baillie, himself a Covenanter and a contemporary, thus speaks of him just before he finally quitted Scotland:—“ Alas ! that *so good a King* should have come among us to be destroyed by our own hands, most by traitors and dividers.” And the noble-minded Earl of Derby, who knew Charles well, was with him at Worcester, and was executed for his loyalty on the very day that he made his escape from England, said of him, in his dying speech at Bolton, that he was “ the most goodly, virtuous, valiant, and most discreet King that I know lives this day.” No doubt he loved music and dancing ; and moreover, at this time he was the father of an illegitimate son, whom he afterwards created Duke of Monmouth ; but was that a sufficient reason for calling him licentious, dissipated, and depraved ? There is in truth, good evidence that, though not making the same pretensions that they did who were appointed to be spies upon his conduct, he was, at the time we are reviewing, every whit as good as themselves. Nay, there is ground for believing, that the spurious system of religion which he daily witnessed in those around him, generated that disgust of puritanical precision which in after life led, as it too often does, to the opposite extreme of laxity and indulgence.

Meanwhile, the English regarded the treaty of Breda, and the proclamation by the Scots of Charles II., to be sovereign of the United Kingdom, as equivalent to a declaration of war against themselves, and accordingly began to prepare for invading Scotland. The two nations had been bound by a mutual compact not to make war upon each other, without a three months warning; but the English considered the conduct of the Scots as a violation of this compact, and therefore paid no attention to the remonstrances which were addressed to them by the latter. They each accused the other of violating the terms of the Solemn League and Covenant. The English were charged with renouncing monarchy, and embracing sectarianism, thus acting "against the Word of God, and the example of the best reformed Churches;" while the Scots were accused of espousing the cause of their "malignant" King. The English argued, consistently enough, that since the existing Scots government had punished all who joined the Duke of Hamilton, two years before, in his "engagement" to defend Charles I., and had more recently treated Montrose and his followers with still greater cruelty for a similar offence, so now it was equally bound to oppose and punish all who should uphold the like pretensions; instead of which, it was using every effort to advance those pretensions, and even proposing to place the Crown of the United Kingdom on Charles II.'s head. They moreover accused the Scots of an intention to introduce Presbyterianism into England, which, there can be no doubt, the latter wished and intended to do, if they possibly could.

Both sides, therefore, prepared for war. Cromwell, recently returned from the conquest of Ireland, was appointed Generalissimo of the army destined for the invasion of Scotland. He left London on the 29th of June. At York, he and his chief officers were sumptuously entertained by the Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs. At Durham, Sir Arthur Haselrigg, the Governor of Newcastle, met him and accompanied him to the latter town, which they entered on the 15th July. Here a *Fast* was held to implore divine success on the Scottish campaign; on which occasion, "there preached

Mr Good and four other ministers, who performed the duty of their places with great moderation and sweet temper, *very heavenly*, in relation to the present expedition of the army for Scotland." A letter of the 17th July from the same quarter, states, the whole English army at 23,000, and the Scotch at 27,000 foot, and 5000 horse. The letter then goes on thus:—"The (Scotch) ministers are now as active in military discipline as they formerly were in the gospel profession. Parson Ennis, Parson Brown, and about thirty other ministers, having received commissions to be majors and captains, now hold forth the Bible in the one hand, and the sword in the other, telling the soldiery that they need not fear what man can do against them; that God is on their side, and that he hath prepared an engine in heaven to break and blast the designs of all covenant-breakers on earth."¹ From Newcastle also, there issued a public document, entitled, "A declaration of the Army of England upon their march into Scotland, to all that are saints and partakers of the faith in Scotland,"—an address in the apostolical style, but surely delivered on a most unapostolic occasion, by an army marching to fight against their lawful King; of whom, whatever they might say of his father, they could not, and did not, allege that *he* had done any thing to forfeit their allegiance. The declaration sets forth the reasons for bringing the late King to *justice*,—for excluding his heirs from the throne,—for abolishing a House of Lords,—and erecting the kingdom into a Commonwealth. It represents the royal party as under the influence of "Popish counsels," and finishes by promising protection to all Scotsmen who should remain quietly in their own houses, and offer no resistance to the English army. General Monk followed Cromwell into Scotland next month, with the regiment which was afterwards designated the Coldstream Guards, and consisted of ten companies drafted out of the regiments of Colonels Haselrigg and Fenwick.

Both parties appealed to Heaven on this occasion. The Scottish presbytery records contain various entries, exhort-

¹ Cromwelliana, pp. 82, 83.

ing their people "to unite in solemn prayer to God for a blessing to the undertakings of this Kirk and kingdom against the unwarrantable invasion of the present Sectarian enemy, who hath perfidiously forsaken the Covenant and oath of God." The ministers followed this up, by contributing funds to raise a regiment of horse, which they put under the command of Colonel Strachan, and subsequently by promoting a voluntary loan or gift, in defence of their country.

On the 22d July, the English army planted their feet on Scottish ground, giving utterance, at the moment of so doing, to a vehement shout, to indicate the enthusiasm with which they entered on a campaign calculated, as they said, "to extend the reign of the saints upon earth." It would appear that Cromwell actually applied to himself, at this time and previously, the language of the ex. Psalm, and justified himself for the murder of the King, and the invasion of Ireland and Scotland, by the prophesies there delivered!¹ He imagined that he was appointed to strike through Kings in the day of his wrath, and that he was to rule over his enemies, who were to be made his footstool. On the north side of the Tweed, he found all the country deserted by its inhabitants, who, as many of them as could, had removed themselves and their goods across the Forth, in obedience to the commands of their government, dreading that Cromwell would inflict on them the same cruelties which he had recently inflicted on the Irish. No person, as we are told, was to be seen but "Scotch women, pitiful creatures, clothed in white flannel in a very homely manner." At Mordington, there being neither cup nor glass, nor cooking utensil of any kind to be found, the soldiers were compelled to make porridge pots of their helmets, and dripping pans of breast-plates.

General David Lesley, who had defeated Montrose at Philiphaugh (and to whom, for this reason, the Kirk and State could never be sufficiently thankful), was made General of the Covenanting army, under the old Earl of Leven, whose command was merely nominal. The larger counties

¹ Thomas Cromwell's Life of Oliver Cromwell, p. 256.

were required each to raise two regiments of foot, with a proportion of horse, while two of the smaller counties united were to supply one between them; and all men capable of bearing arms between the ages of sixteen and sixty were rendered liable to be enlisted. Those who could not furnish men or horses, were required to pay for a man 100 merks (£5 : 8 : 4), and 200 merks for a man and a horse. Within a specified time, they were to be ready to march to a place agreed upon within their respective counties, and from thence to proceed to the head-quarters of the army. These head-quarters were fixed at Edinburgh and Leith; and Lesley proceeded forthwith to occupy and strengthen, by artificial means, positions which nature had already fitted for defence. Edinburgh Castle protected his left wing, Leith was regularly fortified as a covering for his right; and a deep trench extended from the one to the other as a defence for his centre; the river Forth protected his rear, while Arthur's Seat, Salisbury Craigs, and the Calton Hill, served as his outposts. Cromwell, equally on the alert, brought up his army to Musselburgh, Duddingstone, and Corstorphine, villages immediately in front of the Scottish line; while the ships containing his supplies sailed up the Firth of Forth, to be near him, and which the Scots could not oppose, from their being at this time, through a culpable negligence, totally unprovided with ships of their own. "Wherever he came," says Sir James Balfour, "he made stables of all the churches for his horses, and burned all the seats and pews in them, rifled the minister's houses, and destroyed their corns."

Certain modern writers have recently discovered that Cromwell was a "saint," as well as a "hero," a "truly Christian man," "prudent," and "enlightened," "in advance of his age," and, in short, a totally different character to what general history has hitherto represented him, though they do not pretend to have discovered any new facts in support of their new opinions; and Dr Thomas M'Crie, in his new edition of Blair's Life, is mightily shocked to find the biographer of that divine calling Cromwell *an old fox*! I will not call him a "blasphemer," with the Scottish Covenanters,

nor a "hypocrite" with others; for I believe that he was, at the commencement of his career at least, too much of a religious enthusiast to be either. But, passing over his treatment of Charles I., what are we to say to his taking up arms against Charles II., his undoubtedly rightful King? and against his neighbours the Scots, for no other reason than that they had espoused the royal cause? No apology can extenuate that which all laws, human and divine, have pronounced to be a crime. If Cromwell was a "truly Christian man," then is Christianity compatible with regicidism and rebellion, and unprovoked war, and with the massacre of entire garrisons and inhabitants of towns which had surrendered at discretion (the conqueror ascribing his cruel conduct to the inspiration of God's Spirit, and the manifest interpositions of Divine Providence in his favour),¹—compatible, too, with the converting of churches into stables, and the selling of thousands of royalist prisoners to work as slaves in tropical plantations. But if we shrink from this conclusion, then, I think, we have no other alternative than to view Cromwell's character as affording one of the many melancholy illustrations of the great Scriptural truth, that "the heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked." Of this we shall have further proofs in the sequel. The Irish butcheries were, no doubt, committed with the *design* of suppressing a false, and promoting the true, religion; but the same apology might be made for the tortures of the Inquisition, and the massacre of St Bartholomew. In short, Cromwell was one of those men who, when they are forced to admit that it is unjustifiable in them to revenge their own wrongs, real or supposed, plead that the case is quite different when they are called on, as they think, to revenge *God's* wrongs; assuming themselves to be correct judges of what really *are* God's wrongs—not aware how much their private resentments mingle with their religious zeal—and forgetting, besides, the doctrine of Holy Scripture on this point, "Vengeance is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord."

The King, as I said before, had been passing some weeks

¹ Cromwell's Own Letters from Ireland, *passim*.

at his own palace of Falkland. On the 23d July, he went to Perth, where he was hospitably entertained by the Provost and Magistrates, who were clothed in mourning, in compliment, it is supposed, to his father's memory. To his Majesty the Provost presented the freedom of the town upon his knees, and also bestowed the same honour on the Duke of Buckingham who accompanied him; while Mr George Haliburton, one of the ministers of the place (afterwards Bishop of Dunkeld), delivered to the King a congratulatory address. These ceremonies took place, we are told, "at General David Leslie's residence, in the garden-house, on the river [Tay], where was a table covered with dessert of all kinds." At the request of Sir James Balfour, the Lyon-King, who was present, Charles acknowledged the compliments which had been paid him, by writing in the town records, in the list of burgesses, where it may still be seen, his signature and motto thus,—

CHARLES R.

*Nemo me impune lacessit.*¹

Next day he proceeded to Dunfermline, and on the way he paid a visit at Burleigh Castle, the seat of Mr Robert Arnott, by whom he was entertained. This Arnott had married the daughter and heiress of the late Lord Balfour of Burleigh, and assumed the title of that peer in her right. At Dunfermline, the Earl of that name entertained the King and his suite. Here Miss Anne Murray, daughter of Mr Robert Murray of Tullibardine (preceptor to Charles I., and afterwards Provost of Eton College), was presented to the King, kissed his hand, and received his thanks for the services she had rendered, a few years before, to his brother the Duke of York. She had been, at that time, attached to the Court, and assisted in disguising the young Prince, and getting him safely sent out of the country.² On the following day, after dinner, the royal party departed for Stirling, taking the road by Culross, Kincardine, and Alloa, along the north bank of the Forth.

¹ Balfour's Annals, iv. p. 82.

² S. Clarke's Life of James II. ii. p. 35. See a farther notice of this lady after the battle of Dunbar.

On the 29th, Charles was permitted by the Committee of the Kirk and State, to pay a visit to the army at Leith. His presence caused great joy among the soldiers, who, as an evidence of their loyalty, marked a crown and the letter R. upon their arms ; but owing to some mismanagement, a relaxation of discipline took place among them in consequence of the royal presence. Balfour says, " His coming bred much joy among the soldiery, but great confusion and neglect of duty in the camp." The King lodged in Lord Balmerino's house in Leith—" a large massive edifice, entered by an alley from the Kirkgate, and by a garden of some extent from Constitution Street. This house, one of the many tenements of historical note in Leith, is still viewed with interest as the brief residence of the second Charles."

The King's popularity with the army, together with his known secret inclinations, had the effect of inducing many officers and men who had formerly served under Montrose and Hamilton, to come forward and offer him their services. These were at first not objected to, though viewed by a jealous and suspicious eye by the ministers of the covenanting kirk. And their co-operation would have been of immense benefit to the royal cause at this time, because they consisted chiefly of influential gentlemen, and experienced troops. But we shall see presently that, through an almost incredible infatuation, these useful auxiliaries were soon obliged to quit the army.

The King at this time, with the concurrence of the State Committee, issued a proclamation to the English army, offering a pardon and welcome to all who should come over to him, excepting only those who had been accessory to the murder of his father ; but the hand of the ruling party was sufficiently apparent from the following preamble to the proclamation :—" Whereas the Lord hath been pleased, in his gracious goodness, and tender mercy, to discover unto his Majesty the great evil of his ways, wherein he hath formerly been led by wicked counsels," &c.

The Presbyterian army, including those who had recently joined it, now amounted to 15,000 foot and 7000 horse,

which was more in number than Cromwell possessed. Yet the latter, nothing daunted, resolved to offer them battle, which he did on the 29th July.—“ When we came to the place,” he says himself, “ we resolved to get our cannons as near to them as we could, hoping thereby to annoy them. We likewise perceived that they had some force upon the hill that overlooks Edinburgh, from whence we might be annoyed, and did send up a party to possess said hill—which prevailed; but, upon the whole, we did find that their army was not easily to be attempted. Wherefore we lay still all said day, which proved to be such a day and night of rain as I had seldom seen, and greatly to our disadvantage, the enemy having enough to cover them, and we nothing at all considerable. Our soldiers did abide this difficulty with great courage and resolution, hoping they would speedily come to fight. In the morning, the ground being very wet, and our provisions scarce, we resolved to draw back to our quarters at Musselburgh, there to refresh and re-victual. The enemy, when we drew off, fell upon our rear, and put them into some little disorder; but our bodies of horse being in some readiness, came to a grapple with them, when, indeed, there was a gallant and hot dispute; the Major-General (Lambert) and Colonel Whalley being in the rear, and the enemy drawing out great bodies to second their first affront. Our men charged them to the very trenches, and beat them in. The Major-General’s horse was shot in the neck and head, himself run through the arm with a lance, and run into another place of his body, was taken prisoner by the enemy, but rescued immediately by Lieutenant Empson of my regiment. Colonel Whalley, who was then nearest to the Major-General, did charge very resolutely, and repulsed the enemy, and killed divers of them upon the place, and took some prisoners, without any considerable loss, which indeed did so amaze and quiet them, that we marched off to Musselburgh; but they dared not send out a man to trouble us. We hear their young king looked upon all this, but was very ill satisfied to see their men do no better.” Another authority says, that the King stood on the Calton Hill during the action,

and seeing his people did not behave better, nicknamed them "Greenhorns." He would gladly have taken part in the fray, but was not permitted.

In consequence of this discomfiture, the Kirk ordained a *fast* to be kept on the last day of this month, assigning three causes for it:—1st, The insufficient purgation of the King's household; 2dly, The army's self-confidence; and, 3dly, Its profaneness.¹ These, it is to be understood, were the topics discussed in the sermons preached on the day in question. But on the 30th, the Scots again attacked Cromwell, with a view to retrieve their recent failure. In number 3000 horse, and 500 foot, under Colonels Strachan and Montgomery, they made an attempt on the enemy at Musselburgh; in which, though they had some success at the beginning of the day, they were driven back with loss. Balfour says, with the natural bias of a partisan, that "if they had had 1000 men more they would have destroyed the whole English army." Dr Bate, in his "*Elenchus Motuum Nuperorum in Anglia*," says, that Charles sallied out in person on this occasion to assist his retreating troops, replaced them in their ranks, under cover of the great guns of the fortifications, and thus enabled them to regain their quarters without farther loss; and that in consequence of this the men, finding next morning how much they owed to the King's personal bravery, marked the initials C. R. on their caps or coats, some with charcoal, others with red cord.² Cromwell, alluding to the above mentioned encounter, in a letter to the President of the English Council, remarks:—"Indeed this is a sweet beginning of your business, or rather of the Lord's; and I believe it is not very satisfactory to the enemy, especially the kirk party; and I trust that this work, which is the Lord's, will prosper in the hands of his servant." Of four Scottish ministers who had come out from the entrench-

¹ Life of Robert Blair, p. 234.

² "*Funiculo igniario*." Dr Bate had been physician to Cromwell, and acted in the same capacity to Charles II. after the Restoration. The most interesting part of his "*Elenchus*," is the King's adventures after his escape from Worcester, which he had from his own mouth. *Sicuti ab ipso serenissimo regis ore haurire datum est.*—P. 243.

ments, to give assurance to their friends of victory, there were three killed, and one was made prisoner. On the other hand, Captain Wilford, an officer of Cromwell's own regiment, was taken prisoner and carried to Leith, where he was courteously received by General Leslie. There, some of the Presbyterian ministers came to him, and asked him "how long he had served under Antichrist, that proud man Cromwell, on whose head the curse of God did hang, for murdering the King, and breaking the Covenant? And they did expect daily the Lord would deliver him up into their hands."¹

On the 2d August, the King reviewed the army on the Links of Leith. The same day he made a public entrance into Edinburgh, accompanied by the Earl of Eglinton and his Lifeguards, and the chief of the Scottish nobility. Proceeding to the Castle, he was saluted by its great guns. He was afterwards feasted in the Parliament House by the public authorities of the city, and returned in the evening to his lodgings at Leith.² When the ministers saw that there were so many in the army who were more devoted to the King than to them, and more eager for the defence of the throne than of the Covenant, jealousy took possession of their minds, and they determined to "purge the army," as they termed it, of such offensive intermixtures; and meanwhile to remove Charles from among the soldiers. Much as they hated and dreaded the English Sectarians, they yet more dreaded the influence of the "Malignants," and would not allow either the King or his friends to fight against their enemies, lest their very presence should provoke God's indignation against them! "The ministers," says Balfour, "did preach incessantly for this purging, shewing that if it did not proceed, the consequence would prove lamentable

¹ True Relation, pp. 220, 224.

² Macaulay, in the first editions of his *History of England*, says, p. 131, that "on this occasion Charles held a solemn and melancholy Court in the long deserted halls of Holyrood." I do not find that he ever entered within the walls of Holyrood, at this or any other time. The popularity of Macaulay as a writer, is not owing to his historical accuracy, but to the brilliancy of his style, and its adaptation to the prevailing taste. See the Rev. E. C. Harrington's *Remarks on Macaulay's History*, 2d edition.

and destructive; and would undoubtedly multiply God's judgments on the land and army;" and, says Blair, "some were of the mind that the Lord would never bless the army so long as the King remained in it." He was accordingly removed on the 3d August, much against his will, to Dunfermline; and from that day the process of "purging" the army commenced, and continued till nearly all vigour and energy was driven out of it.

The following letter, partly in cypher, which the King with difficulty found an opportunity of writing to his friend the Duke of Hamilton, will shew the state of his mind at this time. It is dated Dunfermline, the 6th August:—"I had written to you before now, to let you know I had received yours of the 23 July, if I had not been in the army; and ever since I came hither, I have been so narrowly watched by the severe Christians, that I could not answer your letter before now. I thank you for the care you have of my person; but indeed I think I had been as safe in the army as here; for the soldiers were so kind to me upon my first coming, that the next day after, the Commission of the Kirk desired me to retire out of the army, pretending it was for the safety of my person; but indeed it was for fear that I should get too great an interest with the soldiers. I have commanded —— (cypher) to give you a particular account of all. I shall now only ask your opinion in two things; the first is,—(cyphers) —— whether it were not—(cyphers).—The other is, what should be done—(cyphers). I hope your stay where you are will not be long. I am sure I shall do all I can that I may have your company again, which is very much wished for, by your most affectionate friend, C. R.."¹

I have already stated, that the purging of the Covenanting army from Malignants began on the 3d of August. It occupied so long a time that it was not quite over on the very eve of the battle of Dunbar, and was, no doubt, one main cause of the Presbyterians being then defeated; for not only all who were commonly called Malignants, and those who had fought for the late King and Montrose, were

¹ "Account of the Preservation of Charles II." p. 86.

removed, but all who were not hearty in their adherence to the Covenant, and the Calvinistic theology of the Westminster Standards of Faith. It was computed that in the course of August, more than eighty experienced officers, and 4000 brave men, were withdrawn from the service of their King and country at the very time when they were most needed.¹ It was better, the Presbyterians said, to fight their enemies with a handful of the "elect," than with mighty arms loaded with sin, which, like Achan's wedge, would surely be the cause of their destruction. And the Rev. James Guthrie said:—"The Lord hath spoken it in his word, and verified it in his works, in the days of old, that it is all one with him to save with few, or with many; and that a few whom God will countenance, are more worth than many with whom he hath a controversy."² Mr Guthrie's error was in supposing himself and his party to be the favourites of heaven, and under a miraculous government, like the ancient Israelites, of which he could have given no evidence. In short, the ultra-covenanters, in dismissing the King's best friends from their army, did Cromwell's work as effectually as if they had been bribed by him; and the result was just what might have been foreseen. In exactly one month from the day the "purging" began, the Covenanting army was most signally defeated by less than half its numbers.

Meanwhile skirmishes were almost daily occurring with various success between the two contending armies, which it is unnecessary to detail very minutely, as the King was not permitted to be present at any of them. On the 5th and 6th of August, Cromwell marched back his army to Dunbar, with a view to obtain provisions and supplies; "after he had sent," says Balfour, "a letter most ridiculous and blasphemous, to the Commission of the General Assembly, and a reply to the Committee of Estates' answer to his foolish declaration; being in effect, nothing but a rhapsody of boasting and hyperbolic nonsense." I am not

¹ Nicoll makes the number much greater, p. 20. But these loyal soldiers were determined their King should not lose the benefit of their services. We shall again hear of them in the sequel.

² Waters of Sihor.

aware that copies of these communications have been preserved, nor is it perhaps of much consequence. In a few days, Cromwell returned from Dunbar to his former position, to the great dismay of the Scots, who were abandoning themselves to the most extravagant joy on account of his supposed retreat, and were offering up public thanksgivings for their deliverance. During this protracted state of affairs, not only the citizens of Edinburgh, but the inhabitants of the south-eastern counties endured great hardships. Nicoll records, that during the lying of the two armies in the fields, all the corn between Berwick and the neighbourhood of Edinburgh was destroyed, or eaten up. Such a scarcity prevailed in Edinburgh, that provisions could hardly be had for money, and even these were of bad quality. The citizens were compelled to provide rations and other necessaries for the army, as well as to take care of the sick and wounded. Heriot's Hospital, and an edifice still known as "Paul's Work," at the end of Leith Wynd, was used for the latter purpose. The English themselves were not in a much better condition, and pillaged every thing they could lay their hands upon.

Samuel Rutherford's letters, some of which were written at this time, are singularly barren of all allusions to the passing events of the day; and are so stuffed with religious rhapsody, "and hyperbolic nonsense," that he can scarcely ever find room for any thing else. Two of them, however, addressed to Colonel Kerr, may be noticed; one written in this month, and the other immediately after the battle of Dunbar. This Kerr had a command under General Leslie, and had been successful in his expedition against Montrose and the "Malignants" in the north. But after the defeat at Dunbar, he was so exasperated against his General, that he declared that he would not again fight under his orders, because he looked upon him as "a natural graceless man, whom the Lord would never bless with success." However, he had no better success himself, for he was defeated, wounded, and taken prisoner by the English in the December following, as we shall see at the proper place. To this military enthusiast the still more enthusiastic Rutherford

thus writes from St Andrews, on the 10th August :—" Much honoured and truly worthy,—I desire not to be rash in judging ; but I am a stranger to the mind of Christ, if our adversaries, who have unjustly invaded us, be not now in the camp of those that make war with the Lamb ; but the Lamb shall overcome them at length, for he is the Lord of lords, and King of kings ; and they who are with him are called, and chosen, and faithful ; and though you and I see but the dark side of God's dispensations this day towards Britain, yet the fair, beautiful, and desirable close of it must be, the confederacy of the nations of the world with Britain's Lord of armies. And let me die in the comforts of the faith of this, that a throne shall be set up for Christ in this island of Britain (which is, and shall be, a garden more fruitful of trees of righteousness ; and payeth, and shall pay, more thousands to the Lord of the vineyard than is paid in thrice the bounds of Great Britain upon earth), and then there can be neither Papist, Prelate, Malignant, nor Sectary, who dare draw a sword against him who sitteth on the throne. His good will who dwelt in the bush, and it burnt not, be yours, and with you. I am yours in his sweet Lord Jesus. S. R." These wild anticipations, if indeed they be intelligible, were not destined to be realised ; but they shew the kind of spirit which animated the leading men among the Scottish Covenanters ; and their deep-rooted conviction that, however inconsistent their conduct, they belonged to " the called, chosen, and faithful followers of the Lamb."

The day before this letter was written, Commissioners from the Kirk and Army, namely, the Earl of Lothian, Sir A. Johnstone, the Reverends Robert Douglas and James Guthrie, with two or three others, waited on the King at Dunfermline, and urged him to subscribe a long Declaration which they brought with them, stuffed with more than their usual extravagance and intolerance ; in which they made him reflect severely on the memory of both his parents, as if their sins, and especially the " idolatry" of his mother, had caused all the disasters with which Providence was then visiting Scotland ! Their object in obtaining his signa-

ture to this document, and publishing it, was both to satisfy a numerous party among themselves who had little confidence in Charles's sincerity, in spite of all he had done to conciliate them; and also to refute the taunts of Cromwell, who was continually proclaiming that the son inherited all the prejudices of his parents, and was, in truth, the very key-stone of malignancy; and though neither of these parties was at all likely to be convinced by any new statement that Charles might publish, yet it was thought not the less necessary to extort his signature to this most obnoxious declaration. For once, however, the King refused compliance with their desires, and sent away the Commissioners both surprised and disappointed. He felt it his duty to honour, not dishonour, his father and mother, whatever might be their errors; nor was it at all clear to him, that they had been guilty of greater errors than they who were now most vehemently condemning them.

But the Commissioners were determined not to let the King off on such pleas, however conscientious and just. They consulted together, and drew up what Baillie himself calls a "terrible act," dated "West Kirk, 13 August," wherein they say, that "this kirk and kingdom do not own nor espouse any malignant quarrel or interest, but that they fight merely upon their former grounds and principles, and in defence of the cause of God and of the kingdom, as they have done these twelve years bygone; and, therefore, as they disclaim all the sin and guilt of the King and of his house, so they will not own him or his interest, nowise than with a subordination to God, and so far as he aims and prosecutes the cause of God, and disclaims his and his father's oppositions to the cause of God, and to the Covenant, and likewise all the enemies thereof; and that they will, with convenient speed, take into consideration the papers lately sent unto them from Oliver Cromwell, and vindicate them from all the falsehoods contained therein; especially in these things wherein the quarrel betwixt us and that party is misstated, as if we owned the late King's proceedings, and as if we resolved to prosecute and maintain his present Majesty's interest, before and without acknowledgment of

the sin of his house, and former ways, and satisfaction to God's people in both kingdoms." This singular document is signed by the Colonel Kerr already mentioned, as the representative of the party who employed him.

The authors and promoters of this act were Guthrie, Gillespie, Hutchison, Durham, and the lay elders Chiesley, Swinton, and Warriston. Swinton subsequently turned Quaker. Chiesley made the most humble submissions to the King after the Restoration.¹ Guthrie was executed for high treason. Warriston soon after this, went over to Cromwell, and at the Restoration promised, if they would spare his life, "to put the registers into good order, and to settle the King's prerogative from old records."² Gillespie offered his services in promoting Episcopacy. Hutchison took the indulgence in 1668, and was in consequence denounced by his former friends.

A copy of this document General Leslie was desired to send to Cromwell, with a request that he would make its contents known to his army. To this message the English commander merely replied, that "he would not juggle with them; he came for their King, and if they would deliver him up, he would treat; otherwise, he was there to fight them, whenever they were disposed to come out from their entrenchments." A copy of the West Kirk act was also put into the hands of the King himself, in order, doubtless, to excite his fears for his personal safety, if he still refused to sign the declaration they had previously submitted to him.

In this dilemma Charles called a Council, the first he had called since his coming to Scotland, of Lords Argyll, Lothian, Eglinton, Tweeddale, Lorne, &c. who might be supposed to have some little sympathy with him, and to have influence at the same time, to bring the Kirk to a certain degree of reason in its demands. It must have been either immediately before, or immediately after, the meeting of this Council, that he wrote the following private letter

¹ C. K. Sharpe's Edition of Kirkton's History, p. 216.

² This instigator of the massacre of the royalist prisoners during the rebellion, was recording his *religious experiences* at the very time he was indulging his blood-thirsty propensities ! Sharpe's Kirkton, p. 174.

to the Duke of Hamilton, dated 14th August:—"I have sent this bearer — (cyphers)— to acquaint you with my condition. I desire you to give him credit in what he shall say to you. I entreat you to send me your opinion, as soon as you can, what I ought to do. I dare not say any more, for they are so watchful over me, that I do nothing but they observe it."¹

I may here observe, once for all, that we always lose the most interesting parts of these private communications to the King's friends, by his referring to the confidential bearer of the letter for the very particulars we want most, namely, the exact circumstances of his position, and the treatment he experienced from those around him. Thus, in all his letters to the Marquis of Ormond from Scotland, after going fully into Irish affairs, he finishes by referring to the bearer for the particulars concerning himself.²

Whether Charles received any answer to his letter to the Duke of Hamilton does not appear; but in a few days he sent to inform the Commissioners that he was prepared to sign any thing that would please them, entreating only that they would be as sparing as possible of reflections on his father's memory, and his mother's character; an offence which these rigid religionists should have been the last persons to ask any son whatever to be guilty of, and more especially a son whom they were always lecturing on his moral and religious obligations. But, indeed, on the point of honouring one's parents, and one's Sovereign, their ideas must have been somewhat lax, if we are to judge from their comment on the Fifth Commandment in the Westminster Catechism, which they had recently compiled, where they make no mention at all of the Sovereign, and make the obedience due to parents to evaporate into merely "performing the duties belonging to *superiors*."

On the 16th of the month, the Earl of Wemyss and Mr Wynram of Libberton, accompanied by the Revds. Messrs Dickson³ and Gillespie, brought him the former Declaration,

¹ Account of the Preservation of Charles II., p. 88.

² Carte's Collection, *passim*.

³ This was the gentleman who, a few years before, while the execution of the royalist prisoners was proceeding, exclaimed, "the work goes on bonily." He was a great favourite with the Covenanting ladies of his time, which, how-

slightly modified, in which they made him say that he desired “to be deeply humbled before God, because of his father’s opposition to the work of God, and to the Solemn League and Covenant; and because his mother had been guilty of idolatry, the toleration of which in the King’s house could not but be a high provocation to a jealous God, visiting the sins of the fathers upon the children.” He was farther made to acknowledge all his own sins, and the sins of his father’s house, “craving pardon for the same through the blood of Christ.” “He declares that he has not sworn the Covenants upon any sinister intention for attaining his own ends, but, as far as human weakness will permit, in the truth and sincerity of his heart.” “He will further purge the army, and his own Court and family.” “He will have no enemies but the enemies of the Covenant.” He again abrogates the “sinful and unlawful treaty of peace made with the bloody Irish rebels, and his allowing them the liberty of the Popish religion.” He again “allows the Directory of Worship, Confession of Faith and Catechism agreed on by the Synod of Divines of Westminster.” He “detests and abhorrs all popery, superstition, and idolatry, together with *prelacy*, and all errors, heresy, schism, and profaneness; and resolves *not to tolerate, much less allow of these*, IN ANY PART OF HIS DOMINIONS, but to oppose himself thereto, and endeavour the *extirpation* thereof to the utmost of his power.” The whole document¹ is of a piece with what is here presented to view, and may justly excite astonishment at the folly and delusion of those who could draw it up, as well as at the double-dealing and insincerity of him who submitted to exhibit it to the world as his own deed. Well might Cromwell express his surprise that “the Scots should publish this to the world as the act of a person converted, when in their

ever, he affected to ascribe to the love of the cause in which he was engaged, rather than to the love of his person. Wodrow tells the following characteristic anecdote of him:—“I have heard that when Mr David Dickson came in to see the Lady Eglintoun, who, at the time, had with her the Ladies Wigton, Culross, &c., and they all caressed him very much, he said, ‘Ladies, if all this kindness be to me, as Mr David Dickson, I can render you no thanks; but if to me as a servant of my master, and for his sake, I tak it all weel.’”

¹ See an entire copy in Stephen’s History of the Church of Scotland, ii. p. 324.

hearts they knew he abhorred the doing of it, and meant it not."

When the above Declaration was placed before Charles for his signature, the Rev. P. Gillespie advised him, if he was not satisfied with it in his soul and conscience, not to sign it, even for the sake of his three kingdoms. In this advice, under the guise of disinterested friendship, there was no small mixture of cruelty, seeing his advisers, who had beguiled him on thus far, now threatened to abandon his cause if he refused to comply with their wishes. And there is even good reason for believing that many of them, and among others, this very Gillespie, would have been better pleased if he had refused to sign it, in order that they might have a plausible pretext for delivering him up to Cromwell, and making their own terms with the English Parliament. Charles, however, thought fit to sign it, saying, "Mr Gillespie, I am satisfied." This was at three o'clock in the afternoon of the 16th of August, and immediately after, he mounted his horse, glad perhaps to escape from his own painful reflections by some excitement, and rode to Perth. And as a farther diversion to his mind, he was there allowed to witness a *play*, which was performed on a platform near the river, close by Gowrie House, then the royal residence. But, "unhappy must he ever be who condemns himself in that which he allows." This act on the part of Charles was, in truth, as much resigning himself and his crown to the dominion of the Covenanters, as John King of England resigned *his* crown, and became vassal to Pope Innocent III. Whether we look to the abject submission of the two kings, or to the tyranny of those who claimed to be their spiritual directors, the two cases are altogether parallel.

There were some things in the above Declaration which gave umbrage to the English Parliament, in consequence of which they issued a counter-statement, wherein they say, with a severe irony, "and now what a blessed and hopeful change is wrought upon this young King! How hearty is he become in the cause of God, and the work of reformation! And how readily does he swallow down these bitter pills which are prepared and urged upon him as necessary

to effect the cure of that disorder under which his affairs lie ! But who does not see the gross hypocrisy of this whole transaction, and the sandy and rotten foundation of all the resolutions flowing thereupon ? At first, he that on the 15th August hugged all his malignant and popish party to his bosom, and lodged them in the secret recesses of his favour and love, as his best friends, the day following (from a full persuasion of the justice and equality of all the heads and articles of the Covenant), can renounce and discard them in the sight of God and the world ; and vow never to have any thing more to do with them, as old sinners, unless they, by his example, turn to be as good converts as himself, and be able to act and personate the same part," &c. And, moreover, as Charles had thrown out, in the declaration, severe reflections against themselves, and had offered to his English subjects all such reasonable satisfaction as a new Parliament sitting in freedom might decree ; and had also offered a free pardon to all (except the late King's murderers), who would throw off the present yoke, and submit to his lawful government, so they go on to express their belief, that " no pious or judicious person can possibly be deluded under such gross deceits, to contribute such an assistance as in that declaration is called for."—" Nevertheless they have resolved, for the better information and satisfaction of the people of the land, more particularly to unmask the hypocrisy and wickedness lodged under the special pretences of that declaration ; and in the meantime do enact that all persons whatever who shall abet the said declaration, *by printing or publishing the same*, or by prosecuting the design or ends therein contained, are hereby adjudged to be guilty of treason, and shall be proceeded against as traitors."¹ It would appear from this, that amidst all the clamour about " liberty" in England at this time, the liberty of the press was not permitted.

At the risk of being thought tedious, I cannot forbear quoting some very just remarks on the same subject from Sir E. Nicholas, in a letter to the Marquis of Ormond. The date of the letter is somewhat later than the time we

¹ Parliamentary History 1650.

are now reviewing, but the subject of it refers chiefly to the Declaration we have been speaking of. Sir Edward thus writes :—“ I hear your Excellency will be in Paris, whither Mr Henry Seymour being newly gone, you will by him have a full and perfect relation of his Majesty’s present condition, and the state of his affairs in Scotland, which I may say with freedom to your Lordship, to me seems to be in no such prosperity as I hear it is at the Louvre cried up.¹ For first, for his Majesty’s person, all his servants (even those of his bed-chamber, of whom he had most reason to be confident), were forced from him; and strangers, whose names he never heard of, but for their notorious crimes against his blessed father, are placed in their room. Then, for his affairs in Scotland, when I consider that Infamous Declaration which they compelled the King to publish, and are still resolved to have his Majesty make good (though not only all the King’s party, but even all the strangers that have any sense of honour or conscience declaim against it), as that they cease not to persecute with exile all that speak against it, and honest Mr Seymour and others for having dissuaded the King from doing it, I cannot so much as hope that those men can intend any good or safety to his Majesty, whom they have so notoriously and wickedly abused and defamed. Nor can I bring myself to conceive so meanly of the providence of those crafty Scots as to believe that they will ever permit an army to be raised that they shall not be able to guide and govern as they please. They are doubtless so conscious of their guilt to the King and his blessed father, as that they will rather deliver up his Majesty’s person to Cromwell, and trust him and his masters² with their lives and fortunes, than ever suffer any power (not absolutely of their opinion and faction) to grow up to the hazard of their safety. So that, upon the whole matter, I conceive his Majesty cannot, by less than a miracle, either prosper or be safe in the hands and power

¹ The Louvre, or French Court, had all along advised Charles to go into the schemes of the Presbyterians, and it therefore naturally wished to represent this measure in the most favourable light.

² Meaning Cromwell and his masters the English Parliament.

he now is. But this my very unskilful judgment is so repugnant to the wisdom of the Council of the Louvre, that you will find such discourses as these to be there accounted ridiculous. Besides this, the Scots refusing to receive any foreign aid from any parts whatsoever, and disclaiming any party that shall offer to rise for the King in England, I would gladly know how it will be possible for the King ever to recover, by their means, the Crown of England. I shall now say no more on this subject, because I suppose you will be more exactly informed of all particulars by Mr Seymour."

The foregoing extract discloses a fact which I do not find noticed in any of the contemporary historians, that the Scots had actually refused to receive any help from other nations, in carrying out their designs in favour of the King. The sole reason of this must have been that those nations had never worshipped, and would in all probability refuse to worship, their idol Covenant. And yet, without such help, the writer saw clearly the King could never recover the Crown of England.

One word more concerning the Dunfermline Declaration. Its authors, strange to say, have their admirers and defenders in modern times. They are called by a living Scottish writer, "the guardians of our liberties;" and "the upholders of the cause of God, and the spiritual independence of the kingdom of Christ"!

One should have thought that the Covenanters had by this time extorted from their unhappy King all the written concessions, acknowledgments of repentance, and promises of amendment, which it was possible for them to ask, and much more than there was the least chance of their ever obtaining. But they were not yet satisfied! Their desires seem to have been like a moral disease, which only grew the more intense by repeated gratifications; and yet they had no more confidence in him after each new concession than they had before. Their next demand was prepared in the end of August, and, like the previous ones, would have been submitted to by the King (who seems to have made up his mind no longer to deny them any thing), but

that the defeat of their army at Dunbar, a few days afterwards, gave an unexpected turn to their affairs, and saved *him* at least, if not *them*, from a new disgrace. This demand contained very nearly the same things which had been urged before, but it was, if possible, of a more stringent character. It obliged the King to sanction a day of solemn fasting and humiliation throughout Scotland, in which he was to perform a sort of public penance for his own sins, and the sins of his ancestors, as far back as James V., his great-great-grand father ! It is surprising, while they were about it, that they did not go a little farther back, and make him answerable for the unchastity of James IV., the superstitious tendencies of James III., the murder of the Earl of Douglas by James II., and the same crime inflicted on the Duke of Albany's sons by James I., not to speak of the *popery* which all of these professed and upheld ? However, they thought fit to stop at the Reformation, and the singular reason they assigned for Charles's penance were these :—

- 1st, The opposition made by James V. and his daughter Mary, to the Reformation of the land from Popery.
- 2d, The opposition made by James VI. to Presbyterianism, and his preference of Episcopacy.
- 3d, Charles I.'s sinfulness in exercising arbitrary power,—in bringing in the Prayer-book and Canons,—in condemning the Solemn League and Covenant,—in favouring many superstitious ceremonies,—in marrying a Roman Catholic Princess,—in tolerating idolatry in his household,—in favouring malignants,—and lastly, in allowing his Irish subjects the liberty of popish worship !

It is really most difficult to conceive what was the precise *object* the Covenanters had in view, by continually harping on the sins of Charles's forefathers ; as if, supposing them to have been as wicked as was alleged, *he* was to be answerable for them ! or as if he could be answerable for any one's sins but his own ! If they meant to visit *their* sins upon *him* as a punishment, that surely was the exclusive prerogative of heaven, and was a most dangerous weapon to be entrusted to fallible men. If they wanted him to atone for

their sins by a vicarious suffering, that was a doctrine very irreconcilable with their ultra-protestantism. Or lastly, if they wished to avert the divine wrath from themselves and their country, that would have been best done, not by making their King the scapegoat of their own and other persons' sins, but by their personal repentance and amendment. Many of the Kings of Judah and Israel had wicked fathers; but though *God* visited the father's sins on the children, yet we do not find that *man* was ever empowered to do so, without a positive command miraculously conveyed; and still less do we find that the sons were required to atone for the father's sins, or to repent of, and expiate transgressions of which they had not been personally guilty; "The son did not bear the iniquity of the father, nor the father the iniquity of the son." In short, the Scottish Covenanters seem to have acted under the influence of a delusion or morbid feeling, which they could not easily have explained themselves. What would Scottish nobles have said, had the Presbyterian ministers made them do penance for their forefathers' sins, some of which were of a far more aggravated character than any that the King's forefathers had committed? Or what would the ministers themselves have said, if an arbitrary sovereign had made *them* answerable for all the misdoings of their spiritual predecessors, Knox, Black, Melville, and Wallace? Possibly, however, they wanted to drive the King to desperation by their repeated importunity, in order that, if he refused to comply with their demands, they might have some pretext for delivering him up to the English; and it was not very likely that they who had sold the *father*, for the part-payment of a debt, would be very scrupulous about making an equally disgraceful bargain for the disposal of the *son*.

It was probably while this new deed of extorted confession lay before him, that Charles wrote to his friend, the Duke of Hamilton, the following letter, which is dated August 31:—"I have received your letters by him I sent to you, but I have not had time to answer them before now, nor can I answer you in all the particulars, but must refer you to — (cypher)—who will give you a particular ac-

count of all. I am extremely sensible of the kind offer you made me in your letter ; but I do not think it fit to hazard yourself upon so small an occasion, when it may be done without it ; however, I have the same obligation to you as if you had done it. Concerning —— (cypher)—I desire you to direct me which is the best and the safest way, because I do not know who to employ without suspicion. I was thinking if you would send to —— (cypher)—about it, as being the proper person ; but I shall leave it to you, and do as you direct me, being one that I have so much confidence in.”

Without the cypher of this letter it is impossible to understand it ; and even then we should be ignorant of the interesting particulars which the person referred to must have communicated to the Duke of Hamilton.

Meanwhile, skirmishes had been going on almost daily between the Presbyterian and Sectarian armies ; till, at length, Cromwell, feeling the pressure of sickness among his men, and the want of provisions, broke up his head-quarters in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, and retired once more to Dunbar, with a view either to return to England, or to withdraw his enemies from their entrenchments. Lesley, whose army was now nearly “ purged ” of malignants, and yet double the number of his opponent’s, which had been much diminished by disease, followed Cromwell, and encamped on Doon Hill near Dunbar. During Cromwell’s retreat, favourable opportunities offered for attacking him ; but the Clerical Council of War, which directed all the Scots movements, were opposed to it ; and were still engaged in purging their army, when they should have been fighting the enemy.¹ A higher degree of infatuation it is not easy to imagine. Doon Hill was even a more favourable position than the one Lesley had quitted ; and where, had he remained, not only could Cromwell not have molested him, but the English themselves had no means of escape, owing to the Scots having secured the pass of Cockburnspath, by which alone there was an outlet to the south, and of which the Sectarian General himself said, that “ ten men

¹ Blair’s Life, pp. 235, 237.

to hinder, were better than forty to make their way." So much did Cromwell and his chief officers feel the danger of their situation, that after an early supper at Dunbar on the 2d September, they held a Council of War, at which many recommended that they should ship their infantry in the course of that night, and with their horse force through the enemy at the pass on the following day. But to this measure General Lambert was warmly opposed, and it was finally abandoned. Cromwell's only chance of safety now lay in the Scots descending from their impregnable position on the hill, and coming to an open engagement on the plain; but of this, from his knowledge of Lesley's generalship, he could have little expectation. In truth, the English General never, in the course of his military career, committed a greater blunder than in getting himself into his present difficulty; so that, humanly speaking, if his enemy had not committed one still greater, his army must have been taken or destroyed. In this dilemma, he experienced what he calls some "weakness of the flesh;" meaning, I suppose, fears as to his ultimate success. But when the Council of War already mentioned was over, he desired his officers, and through them, their men, to spend some time "in seeking the Lord." When their devotions were ended, he told them that he had himself experienced a peculiar enlargement of heart while engaged in prayer, and bade them "take courage, for God had certainly heard them, and would appear for them." One of his officers, in his memoirs, says, "As our regiment was marching in the head of the horse, a cornet was at prayer in the night, and I appointed one of my officers to take my place. I rid to hear him, and he was exceedingly *carried on* in the duty. I met with so much of God in it, as I was satisfied deliverance was at hand."¹ What a singular inference, from

¹ Memoirs of Capt. Hodgson, p. 146. An anecdote is told of the above cornet—that, prolonging his prayer to an undue length, Cromwell rode up and told him, that he would shoot him through the brains if he did not immediately desist, and put his squadron into train. "Old Noll" was too sagacious to allow religious, to get the better of military, enthusiasm. Once, in crossing a river, he is said to have called out to his men—"Trust in the Lord, and keep your powder dry!"

premises still more singular ! These military saints forgot that the very same scenes were, and probably at the same moment too, going on among those who were about to be signally vanquished, and who yet entertained still greater confidence of success. At this juncture the English General was at Broxmouth, the Earl of Roxburgh's house, about a mile east from Dunbar. Early next morning, as he was anxiously eyeing the movements of the Scottish army through a telescope, he discovered that they had begun their fatal march down the hill, and immediately exclaimed, in the joy of his heart, "The Lord hath delivered them into our hands."

It was even so ; Lesley himself saw that he had the English completely in his power, if he remained in the position he had occupied ; but the ministers who were present, and constituted the Committee of the Kirk, would not listen to this proposal, and insisted he should "go down against the Philistines to Gilgal." He next proposed to them to give permission to the enemy to pass into England, on condition of their giving up their arms and ammunition ; and to this some of them agreed, from a desire to spare the effusion of blood ; but the majority demanded that he should go instantly, and "destroy the sinners, the Amalekites ;" they promising him as easy a victory, in answer to their prayers, as if God himself had miraculously assured them of it. The General, therefore, unable to resist their importunity, and really believing that with his great superiority of numbers, he could scarcely fail to beat his enemy, descended from his position for the purpose of acting on the offensive. An officer of the English army speaking of the unbounded confidence of the Scots says :—"Neither were their ministers less insolent and presumptuous than the rest ; for as Pharaoh said of the Israelites, 'they are entangled in the land, the wilderness hath shut them in,' so they, conceiving us to be in a trap, persuaded their commanders to draw up their army between us and home, that none of us might escape, but be driven into the sea." Some writers of the covenanting school, have attempted to deny this charge against the ministers, but there is no fact of history better established.

But before coming to the battle, let us for a moment return to the King, who was at this time in Perth engaged in writing the following confidential letter, dated 3d September, to his Foreign Secretary, Sir E. Nicholas, then acting as his Ambassador at the Hague.¹

“Mr Secretary Nicholas,—I have given the bearer his dispatch, and have signed all the commissions with fifty-three blanks, which I desire you to fill up as you shall have occasion. There are two commissions for Marquis Hertford, that if one should miscarry, the other might serve. I have sent you here inclosed a letter of credence to the Prince of Orange, that if you should have occasion for his assistance you may use it; but pray have a care that you do not press him about money, for I have had so much from him already, that it were a shame to seek more of him. This bearer will acquaint you with my condition much better than I can do in a letter. I shall only say this to you, that you cannot imagine the villainy of the ——² and their party. Indeed it has done me a great deal of good; for *nothing could have confirmed me more to the Church of England than being here seeing their hypocrisy*.³ I shall send the Duke of York’s commission, and Lord Gerard’s by Oudart, who I will dispatch within this two or three days. I had almost forgot a business of great importance, which is to speak to the Prince of Orange to send hither a smack, or a herring buss, with five or six men, to lie here, pretending it is to carry over a messenger when there is occasion, I being at the charge of keeping them while they are here. I would have the vessel come to Montrose. I would have you and Mr Attorney to

¹ See Evelyn’s Memoirs, vol. v. p. 181.

² Illegible in the MS., but it is not difficult to supply the omission.

³ It has been asserted that Charles was at this time a Romanist, but the above letter, and still more another, addressed to his brother the Duke of York, dated in November 1654, (See the Account of the King’s Escape from Worcester, edited by Lord Hailes, p. 103), afford a conclusive evidence of the contrary. Mr Thomas M’Crie, in his “Sketches of Scottish Church History,” tells us, “It was afterwards discovered that before Charles left the Continent (meaning before he came to Scotland), he had embraced Popery.” An assertion like this may perhaps pass in a “Sketch,” but it would have been more satisfactory if this writer had told his readers *where, when, and how* this discovery was made.—See Miss Strickland’s Lives, viii. p. 205.

stay in Holland, as being the place that is nearest to this kingdom, and where I shall have occasion of your services. I have no more to say to you at present, but to assure you that I am, and ever will be, your most affectionate friend,

CHARLES R."

This allusion to a herring smack proves that Charles had not much confidence in his covenanting friends, and that he wished to have the means of escape from their hands whenever he might see fit.

Let us now return to Dunbar. A heavy rain, to which the Scots had been exposed on the night of the 2d, and the consequent extinction of their matches (long coils of twisted tow steeped in saltpetre), together with the fatigue of some manœuvring, were but ill preparations for an arduous fight early the following morning, against a well-disciplined, though comparatively small, army, which had not suffered from the like disadvantages. The watchword on the one side was the "Covenant," and on the other, "the Lord of Hosts;" and it was afterwards boasted by the English, that the "Lord of Hosts" had shewn himself superior to "the Covenant." In the course of the night in question, a large body of the Scots came unexpectedly on an English vidette, on which Cromwell (who was never at a loss for a providence to fall in with his views) remarks,—“The Lord, by his providence, put a cloud over the moon,” whereby his men escaped without injury. At the very beginning of the action, he says (in his dispatch to the Speaker of the English Parliament), “Before our foot could come up, the enemy made a gallant resistance, and there was a very hot dispute of swords between our horse and theirs. Our first foot, after they had discharged their duty, being overpowered with the enemy, received some repulse, which they soon recovered. But my own regiment, under the command of Colonel Goffe and Major White, did come seasonably in, and at the push of pike, did repel the stoutest regiment the enemy had there, merely with the courage the Lord was pleased to give, which proved a great amazement to the residue of their foot.” At this moment, the sun rose brilliantly out of the German Ocean, on seeing which, Cromwell

(equally ready with a text of Scripture, as with a providential interposition), exclaimed, "Let God arise, and let his enemies be scattered!" and at the same time galloped into the thick of the battle. Let it suffice to say, that on the morning of the 3d September he gained a most complete victory over the Covenanted Scots, though with scarcely one-half their number of men. Nor was ever victory gained so easily, or at so small a sacrifice on the part of the victors. In the flight, which began in little more than an hour after the battle itself began, the English dragoons, as Cromwell himself says, "had the execution and killing of the Scots foot for nearly eight (now eleven) miles, leaving the whole distance between Dunbar and Haddington strewn with the dead and the dying." In the eagerness of this carnage, he and his immediate followers, having outstript the rest, stopped and sung the cxvii. Psalm, in order to give them time to come up (a singular interruption to so bloody an occupation as the slaughter of a flying enemy!) which, when they had done, the pursuit and "killing" were renewed with fresh vigour.¹ And so effectually was this work accomplished, that, while the English lost only two officers, and about fifty men, their enemies lost nearly 4000 in killed, and about 10,000 in prisoners, besides all their baggage and artillery, and 15,000 stand of arms!

Towards the end of his dispatch, Cromwell says:—"It is easy to see the Lord has done this. It would do you good to see and hear our poor foot go up and down, making their boast of God. But, sir, it is in your hands, and by these eminent mercies, God puts it in your hands, to give glory to him to improve your power, and his blessings to your praise. We that serve you, beg of you not to own us, but God alone. We pray you, own his people more and more; for they are the chariots and horsemen of Israel. Disown yourselves, but own your authority; and improve all, to curb the proud and the insolent, such as would disturb the tranquillity of England, though under what specious pretences soever." The evident meaning of this is—punish your enemies, not for your own private gratification, but

¹ Captain Hodgson's Memoirs, p. 148.

for the glory of God. But Cromwell could not see that, in such a case as his, the latter motive was by far the more objectionable of the two.

Meanwhile the Edinburgh pulpits were resounding with prayers for, and promises of, a glorious victory over "the perfidious and blasphemous sectaries;" "but lo!" says Dr Bate, "while the messengers of joy are hourly expected, those of grief unexpectedly appear. Lesley himself arrived so early as ten o'clock in the forenoon, and announced that all was lost."

Commissioner Winram of Libberton fought in this battle, and was so severely wounded that he died within a few days. Commissioner Jaffray was also in the battle, and was wounded, but let him speak for himself:—"Having gotten three of the wounds afore-mentioned, while the fourth was coming to have made an end of me, the hand that drew it was diverted before he could bring his sword from his shoulder, which he was drawing with great passion to my throat, who was then lying on the ground, not recovered since my horse fell with me, he being lying on my left leg;—I say, before his stroke could come at me, in that very nick of time his hand was diverted, and carried to give that stroke to one Lauder, an officer in our army, who, at that very instant, being hardly pursued, ran close by him who was drawing the stroke at me; and yet, for all his haste, he was heard to call, desiring to spare me. Thereafter, I having gotten quarter, and rendered my arms, was wounded by a thrust in the back, which made me more in danger than ever. Being thereby unable to walk, I was like to have fallen among the common soldiers; but the Lord provided a gentleman who took care of me, and having mounted me on horseback, carried me to Major-General Lambert, and by his order to Broxmouth, where my wounds were very carefully dressed."¹

"These religious people," says Cromwell, in one of his dispatches, "that fall in this cause, we cannot but pity and mourn for them, and we pray that all good men may do the

¹ Diary, p. 37. The first part of this quotation affords as perfect a specimen of an involved and clumsy sentence as can well be imagined.

same." And D'Aubigné, in his Life of that personage, judging of him by his own words, and not by his actions, says,—“ Perhaps there never was a General at the head of an army who entertained a more cordial affection towards his enemies.” If so, he had a singular way of shewing it. To pass over his conduct to the Irish, he might have discovered some other method of manifesting his affection for the Scots than in slaughtering them by thousands, while they were endeavouring to fly from his vengeance.¹

The officers taken prisoners on this occasion were one Lieutenant-General (Sir James Lumsden), one Adjutant-General (Bickerton), Sir William Douglas, Colonels Lumsden and Gordon, eleven Lieutenant-Colonels, nine Majors, forty-seven Captains, seven Captain-Lieutenants, seventy Lieutenants, twelve Cornets, fourteen Quarter-masters, and seventy-eight Ensigns. About one-half of these, as well as of the ten thousand common soldiers, were wounded; and these Cromwell ordered to be left on the ground where they fell, to the care of those who might be disposed to carry them off, or to relieve them; he issuing a proclamation that any who chose might take them away without being molested, which was doubtless a convenient way of getting rid of so heavy an encumbrance. We are told that he sent a thousand of them “ in a *gallantry*” to the Countess

¹ It is not perhaps generally known, that the celebrated Independent minister, Dr John Owen (afterwards Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, Vice-Chancellor of that University, and Member of Parliament for the same!) was, at this time, one of the chaplains of Cromwell's army in Scotland, and preached both at Berwick and at Edinburgh. He had been with the army in Ireland the year before in the same capacity. Though therefore he must have witnessed the inhuman butcheries of his master in both these countries, he does not appear to have lifted up his voice against them; but his biographer is pleased at being able to inform his readers of a circumstance which, in his eyes, was of much greater importance, namely, that by his powerful preaching, when at Dublin, Dr Owen produced “ first convictions” in the minds of two of his hearers, a Major Manwaring, and a Mrs Dorothy Smith! But I know not that we could have expected any thing better from the Independent Divine who had preached a sermon before the House of Commons, the day after the murder of their lawful sovereign, without denouncing it; and who subsequently preached a public thanksgiving sermon for the victory at Worcester, over the son and successor of that sovereign!

² Cromwelliana, p. 91.

of Winton; but the other half of the prisoners he marched, or rather "drove, like turkies," into England, and finally shipped the survivors of them, to work as slaves in the transatlantic plantations.

Miss Murray, whom we have already mentioned, was at Kinross soon after the battle, where she had an opportunity of relieving many of the wounded soldiers who had fled from Dunbar. Her interesting "Memoirs" state, that "she and her woman dressed about fourscore, employing one A. R. to such as were unfit for them to dress. Among the wounded, there were some in a sad plight, swarming with vermin; others, whose sores putrifying, gave a noisome stench." This is stated to have been on the 21st of the month, so that we may conceive what a wretched condition these unhappy men must have been in during the previous eighteen days. Lord Lorne afterwards mentioned this deed of benevolence to the King, who personally thanked Miss Murray for it, when at Aberdeen in the February following, and gave her "50 pieces" in acknowledgement of his gratitude for her services. I may add here, that this excellent woman became, in 1656, the second wife of Sir James Halkett of Pitferran, and had one son, who was educated at St Leonard's College, St Andrews. In token of her gratitude for the benefit he received there, she gave to the College a silver communion cup, which is still preserved, with the following inscription on it:—"This cup is dedicated to the use of St Leonard's College, in St Andrews, by a devout widow, as a free-will offering for the returne of prayer, upon the xiii. day of April MDCLXXXI." Lady Halkett died in 1699.

Those of the Scottish prisoners who were able to march to England, were lodged on their way in churches, which, as may be supposed, they defiled and disfigured. Whitelock, in his "Memorials," says, that "at their first coming to Newcastle, they got into the gardens, and fed so greedily on the raw cabbages, that they poisoned their bodies; 1600 of them died, 500 more of them were sick, and 900 in health, who were set to work there." There is no doubt much truth in this statement, though it is probably exaggerated. "At Durham," says Sir Arthur Haslerigg, who

had the charge of them, and lodged them in the Cathedral, "they were so unruly, skittish, and nasty, that it is not to be believed. *They acted rather like beasts than men, so that the Marshal was allowed forty men to clean them out every day!*" The same officer adds, "many of them died, and few of any other disease than flux. Some were killed by themselves, for they were exceeding cruel one towards another. If a man was perceived to have any money, it was two to one he was killed before morning, and robbed; and if he had any good clothes, he that wanted them, if he was able, would strip him and put on his clothes." Now, let it be remembered, that this was the Covenanting army, which had undergone a whole month's "purgation;" and a mere handful of whom, because they were God's chosen people, were to scatter whole hosts of "perfidious sectaries"!

In whatever manner these prisoners were really treated, their countrymen at home had the impression that they were half starved by their English conquerors, and hence they raised subscriptions for their relief. A proof of this is the following entry in the records of the Presbytery of St Andrews, under date October 30. 1650:—"The Presbytery having received a letter from the Commissioners of the General Assembly, shewing the sad condition of our prisoners in England, through *famine* and *nakedness*, and that they, with the advice of the Committee of Estates, have concluded a voluntary contribution through the several congregations of this Kirk for their relief; The Presbytery do appoint the intimation hereof the next Lord's day, to be collected the Sabbath following." And in the corresponding intimation at Cupar Fife, we read, "About 500 of them (the prisoners) are dead, and these who are alive are extremely pinched with hunger, cold, and want of all comfortable supplies." These unhappy men had soon after to exchange famine and nakedness at home for a burning sun and compulsory labour in a distant colony. Yet the "truly Christian" Cromwell, the immediate author of their calamities, was sorry for them, loved them much, pitied them, and even prayed for them!

I will now give the other letter I promised from Samuel Rutherford to Colonel Ker, who had fought unsuccessfully at Dunbar. It is dated St Andrews, 5th September :—
“ Cromwell and his [army] (I shall not say, but there may be, and are, several sober and godly amongst them, who have either joined through misinformation, or have gone alongst with the rest in the simplicities of their hearts, not knowing any thing) fight in an unjust cause *against the Lord's secret ones* ; and now, to the trampling of the worship of God and persecuting the people of God in England and Ireland, he hath brought upon his score the blood of the people of God in Scotland. I intreat you, dear Sir, as ye desire to be serviceable to Jesus Christ, whose free grace prevented you when ye were his enemy, go on without fainting, equally eschewing all mixture with sectaries and malignants. Neither of the two shall ever be instrumental to save the Lord's people, or build his house ; and without prophesying, or speaking further than he whose I am, and whom I desire to serve in the gospel of his Son, shall warrant, I desire to hope, and do believe, there is a glory and a majesty of the Prince of the kings of the earth that shall shine and appear in Great Britain, which shall darken all the glory of men, *confound sectaries and malignants*, and rejoice the spirits of the followers of the Lamb, and dazzle the eyes of the beholders. Sir, I suppose that God is to gather malignants and sectaries ere all be done, as sheaves in a barn-floor, and to *bid the daughter of Zion arise and thresh* ; I hope ye will mix with none of them. I am abundantly satisfied that our armie, through the sinfull miscarriage of men, hath fallen ; and dare say *it is a better and a more comfortable dispensation then if the Lord had given us the victory*, and the necks of the reproachers of the way of God ; because he hath done it for [those reasons], 1st, More blood, blasphemies, cruelty, treachery, must be upon the accounts of the men whose land the Lord forbade us to invade. 2d, *Victory is such a burdening and weighty mercy, that we have not strength to bear it as yet*. 3d, That was not the army, nor Gideon's Three Hundereth, by whom he is to save us. We must have one of the Lord's carving. 4th, *Our enemies on both sides are*

not enough hardened, nor we enough mortified to multitude, valour, and creatures. Grace, grace be with you, your friend and servant, in his sweet Lord Jesus. S. R."

These are indeed singular reasons for being reconciled to the defeat at Dunbar, viz.—that the Scots' army had not been sufficiently purged, and limited to a faithful few—that they were not as yet able to bear the weight of a victory—and that their enemies had not yet sufficiently filled up the measure of their iniquities to be destroyed; but all this would come in good time! Such sentiments shew the almost incredible hallucination and gloomy fanaticism by which one of the leading men among the Scots Covenanters (he has been emphatically called "the flower of the Kirk," and whose "Letters" have gone through numerous editions) was at this time deluded; and one, be it remembered, who had lately assisted those very sectaries, whom he now denounced, in compiling the Westminster Standards of Faith! He very charitably "hopes and believes" that all malignants and sectaries were soon to be "threshed by the daughter of Zion," meaning himself and his party, whom he calls "the Lord's secret ones," but whose *faults* never once crossed his imagination; or, if he thought they had any, it was only their not following up, with sufficient energy, that line of conduct which was the real cause of all their troubles. Mr Peterkin might truly say, in the motto prefixed to this Narrative, that "the period to which our attention is now directed, presents the most humiliating views of human nature."

On the evening of the 3d September, the King, who was at Perth, was made acquainted with the result of the battle of Dunbar by the Marquess of Argyll, and is said to have felt divided between joy and grief; *grief* at the loss of so many of his countrymen, and at the success of Cromwell, his late father's and his own implacable enemy; and *joy* at the discomfiture of his pretended friends, but real enemies, the Covenanters; but as he was still surrounded by the latter, his policy was to *seem* at least to entertain no apprehensions of them, to be sorry for the loss they had sustained, and to wait patiently the issue of events. Accord-

ing to Mr John Canne, an English Independent,¹ “ No sooner did the Scots king hear of the loss of their army, but he protested he was glad of it; and, falling down on his knees, gave great thanks in the presence of all about him, that they were destroyed.” On the other hand, we find among Charles’s state papers the following address to the Committee of Estates, which he found it expedient to make to them a few days after the battle:—“ We cannot but acknowledge that the stroke and trial is very hard to be borne, and would be impossible for us and you, in human strength; but in the Lord’s we are bold and confident, who hath always defended this ancient kingdom, and hath transmitted the government of it upon us from so many worthy predecessors, who, in the like difficulties, have not fainted. And *they* had only the honour and civil liberty of the land to defend; but *we* have with you, religion, the gospel, and the Covenant, against which hell shall not prevail, much less a number of sectaries stirred up by it. We acknowledge that what hath befallen is just from God for our sins, and these of our house, and the whole land; and all the families in it have likewise helped to pull down the judgment, and kindle this fierce wrath. We shall strive to be humbled that the Lord may be appeased, and that he may return to the thousands of his people, and comfort us according to the days we have been afflicted, and the years that we have seen evil.”²

Events afterwards shewed that it needed a far less power than “ hell ” to prevail against the Covenant, which, it is well known, died a natural death at the Revolution of 1688, without even an effort being made to save it.

But if Charles felt regret at the loss of the battle of Dunbar, he was much more grieved, very soon after it, at hearing of the death of his sister, the Princess Elizabeth, who expired in the hands of her father’s murderers, at

¹ In a scarce pamphlet by this writer, called “ Emanuel, wherein is set forth England’s late victory over the Scots army at Dunbar, London, printed by M—— S——, next door to the Golden Lion, in Aldersgate Street, 1650.” Canne was also the author of “ Marginal Notes on the Bible.”

² Thurloe’s State Papers, i. p. 163.

Carisbrook Castle, on the 8th day of this month, in the fifteenth year of her age. And not long after, he received another shock, from learning the death of his brother-in-law, the Prince of Orange, who had always been one of his steadiest supporters.

To counterbalance these afflictions, the defeat of the Covenanters at Dunbar operated in some respects beneficially for him ; for the nation at large began now to look to him as their chief hope, in proportion as they lost confidence in their former rulers ; and this induced the latter to be more respectful in their behaviour towards him than they had been before. They admitted him to some of their private consultations ; and they even went so far as to issue orders in his name, when they found they had a greater effect than when issued in their own. And, moreover, they allowed some of his personal friends and members of his household to return to him, whom they had dismissed from his service, and threatened to banish from the country.

Immediately after this victory, Cromwell marched back his army to Edinburgh, which he found abandoned by the Scots soldiery (except the Castle, which was still occupied by a garrison), and took up the positions lately possessed by General Lesley. Had he even marched to Stirling, he would probably have found as little difficulty in capturing it in the then distracted state of the country. Three citizens came out of the Metropolis to make their submission to the conqueror, in the name of the rest, viz., Dr Purvis, Mr Robert Trotter, advocate, and Mr John Poke, cordiner. In the Castle, the Presbyterian ministers, Messrs Hamilton, Smith, Gowan, Low, and Traill, had taken refuge ; but Cromwell invited them back to their charges, assuring them that they should not be disturbed in their ministrations. Doubting his sincerity, however, they replied, that “ they found nothing expressed from whence they might infer security of their persons, and therefore they resolved to reserve themselves for better times, and meantime wait upon him who had hidden his face from the *sons of Jacob*.” To this Cromwell returned for answer, that it did not become them to be so very careful of their persons, if they were as

zealous for the service of their Divine Master as they professed to be ; and as to God's hiding his face from " the sons of Jacob," as they were pleased to call themselves, it was not to be wondered at, seeing that they had espoused the cause of a family against whom the Lord had so evidently lifted up his hand.¹ Finding, however, that his renewed assurances of protection were unavailing, he filled their pulpits with those officers of his army who were thought to possess the " gift of prophecy," though it was alleged that some of them were distinguished more for their *gifts* than for their *graces*. These men mounted the pulpits in full military costume, with pistols in their belts, and swords by their sides, to the great astonishment of their Scots audiences, who had never before witnessed any thing of the kind. Against this intrusion into their places the ministers in the Castle remonstrated, on the plea that " men of secular calling were usurping the office of the ministry, to the scandal of the Reformed Churches." This was an argument that was not likely to have much weight with Cromwell, who had his own ideas of " reformation." " Are ye troubled," he replied, " that Christ is preached ? Does this scandalize the Reformed Kirks, and Scotland in particular ? Is it against the Covenant ? Away with the Covenant, if it be so. I thought the Covenant and these men would have been willing that any should speak good of the name of Christ ; if not, it is no Covenant of God's approving, nor is the Kirk you mention so much the spouse of Christ." As to men of secular callings usurping the office of the ministry, he might have alleged that their own " calling" was a merely human affair, having originated at Geneva not a hundred years before ; and that, moreover, his officers had as good a right to preach, as Presbyterian ministers had to take upon themselves the part of military advisers, which they had lately done at Dunbar, when they urged Leslie, contrary to his own opinion, to abandon his strong position, and to make an attack upon the English. Whitelock asserts that these men, in their prayers to God

¹ Cromwell's letters to the Presbyterian ministers are said to have been composed by Dr John Owen, his chaplain.

at this time, said, that "if he would not deliver them from the sectaries, he should no longer be their God;" but this is perhaps a calumny.

I may here mention that the Castle of Edinburgh fell into the hands of the conqueror in the course of this year, notwithstanding that the above named ministers were praying at the time of the siege, in one of the low vaults of that fortress. They would have acted more wisely had they followed the advice of the English General, and gone into the town to preach to their congregations.

On the 12th September, the Commission of the Assembly, or rather those members of it who had contrived to escape from Dunbar, and meet at Stirling, no ways as yet sensible of their errors, but rather growing more confirmed in them, were perplexed to account to their countrymen for the recent defeat, seeing they had made them so sure of a victory. After some very irreverent expostulations in their public prayers to the Deity, about "the great loss he himself would sustain by suffering his elect to be destroyed," and about "the great hardship of having to fight for him, when he would not fight for himself," they put out a statement, at the beginning of which they say, "They must not be silent to declare the mind of God, nor must others refuse to hearken thereto." They make no doubt about their knowing "the mind of God;" and yet Cromwell was equally sure he knew it too, though it was quite an opposite "mind" from theirs. However, they admit their own sins, and those of the nobility, and the nation generally; but they add, "It concerns the *King* to mourn *for all the grievous provocations of his father's house*, and for all his own guiltiness; and to consider if he hath come into the Covenant, and joined himself to the Lord, upon political interests, and for giving a crown to himself, rather than to advance religion and righteousness; and that this is an iniquity that God will not forget, unless it be speedily repented of." Having thus made the poor King, as usual, the scapegoat for the consequences of their own infatuation, and after abusing the army of "perfidious and blasphemous sectaries," they turn round once more on their old enemies the "Malign-

ants." "We would not think that all danger from the Malignants is now gone, seeing that there are a great many such in the land, who still retain their former principles; and therefore we would, with as much watchfulness and tenderness as we can, avoid their snares, and beware of compliance and conjunction with them." "Doubtless our own safety is in holding fast our former principles, and keeping a straight path, without declining to the right hand or to the left."

The language and behaviour of these religionists exhibit a very melancholy view of human nature, and shew what strange hallucinations men are liable to fall into, when left to "eat the fruit of their own ways, and to be filled with their own desires." I consider that it is only in this view that I am justified in going so much into detail on this point, one of the great objects of history being to warn us of the moral dangers we ourselves are liable to fall into. Cromwell, who saw clearly enough their error, but could not see his own, had well said to the ministers in Edinburgh Castle, "Is it infallibly agreeable to the word of God all that *you* say? I beseech you, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, think it possible you *may* be mistaken. Precept may be upon precept, line may be upon line, and yet the word of the Lord may be to some a word of judgment, that they may fall backward, and be broken, and be snared, and be taken."

The next measure in the order of events deserving of notice is, that the above mentioned Commission of the General Assembly ordered that Sunday, the 15th of this month, should be kept as a day of humiliation for the defeat of their army, and that *thirteen* reasons of the divine displeasure should be publicly read in all their congregations. They were in substance as follows:—

1. The nation's profaneness.
2. The provocations of the King's house, which have not yet been sufficiently repented of; together with the crooked and corrupt ways that were taken by sundry among us for carrying on the treaty with the King at Breda.

3. The number of Malignants who came into Scotland with the King.
4. The insufficient purging of the King's household from malignant and profane men.
5. A profane guard of King's horse who arrived two days before the battle, and was suffered to fight in the army.¹
6. The slackness of many in purging the judicatories and the army of all malignant persons.
7. The great diffidence of some leaders in the army, who thought they could not conquer but with a greater force; and the carnal confidence of others, who depended too much on themselves.
8. The little or no care taken of the necessities of life, whereby the poor were left destitute; and also the misconduct of the army in this respect some years before, when fighting for the English Parliament.
9. Unthankfulness for past mercies.
10. Owing the King's interest, without subordination to religion.
11. The carnal self seeking of many.
12. Not distinguishing between those who served God, and those who did not serve him.
13. Neglect of family duties and mutual edification.

And then they sum up the whole with expressing their renewed resolution to adhere to "the cause and Covenant of God," and not to comply with Malignants, on the one hand, nor with Sectaries, on the other.

It will be curious to contrast with the foregoing reasons for the failure of the Scots army at Dunbar, the sarcastic observations of Mr John Canne, the English Independent, in reference to the same subject. It will then appear, that if I have been somewhat severe against the Covenant and the Covenanters, I, at least, come far short of him.

"Another proof," says this writer, "of God's witnessing against them is, that their prophets have seen vain and foolish thoughts, and by good words and fair speeches have deceived the minds of the simple, whereby they have brought

¹ This was the only part of the army which had fought with any bravery.

the guilt of much blood upon their own heads. Such as do receive their carnal doctrines, are driven into a kind of fury and madness, acting strange things, prejudicial and destructive to the people amongst whom they live. This is to be added, as a public manifestation of God's just hand against their unrighteous cause, to-wit, what this army was which the Lord by weakness overthrew—(namely), *all Covenanters*,—no Malignants, Sectaries, or Papists; an army, in point of Covenant-reformation, like the Spanish Armada in 1588, *invincible*; and indeed much glorying there was in this reformed army having none in it but subscribers to the Covenant; and the priests of the Lord, the sons of Aaron, being likewise among them—their enemies (on the contrary) vain men, and children of Belial, with whom were the golden calves, which the [English] Parliament had made, and whose head [Cromwell] was the great anti-christ; so that the foolish and ignorant people did fully believe that there would be little need for them to fight; but, standing still, they should see their enemies flee before them. Neither was it without a special providence of God that our word should be, ‘The Lord of Hosts,’ theirs, ‘The Covenant.’ Here now lay the great cause betwixt us and them; *they* for the Covenant, *we* for the Lord of Hosts. And as the cause thus stood betwixt us, so the Lord, by a mighty hand, gave a remarkable witness from heaven on whose side the truth and right were. For as Dagon fell when the ark came near it, so fell the Covenant, as another Dagon, at the presence of the Lord of Hosts. Since this great victory, some of the Presbyterian ministers have openly declared that there was an Achan in the Scots army. It is true, there was so indeed, but what was that Achan? Seeing they tell us not, I shall do it for them. The cursed thing, I take it, was the *Covenant*. This should have been destroyed; and therefore seeing their cause was the Covenant, and the Covenant *anathema*, no marvel that they fell in the day of battle.”

Mr Canne then goes on to give some reasons why the Covenant could not stand, which may be abridged thus:—

1. It is a "common strumpet," wandering up and down in search of victims.
2. It suppresses the church and people of God, and the gifts of the Spirit.
3. It is "one of the things which God hates, and is an abomination to him, because it is a false witness that speaketh lies, and soweth discord among brethren."
4. It is a mad dog, biting when it should not, and a dumb dog, not barking when it should.
5. It is the image which fell down from Jupiter, like the "Great Diana of the Ephesians."
6. It makes men hypocrites and liars.
7. It strengthens men in formality, profaneness, and looseness of life.

Having thus characterised the Covenant, he finally designates the Covenanters "an hypocritical nation, dissemblers in their hearts, an assembly of treacherous men; of mockers, such as would deceive every man his neighbour, and would not speak the truth, but teach their tongues to speak lies, and wearied themselves to commit iniquity; sons, not of Jacob, but of the Sorceress, children of transgression, a seed of falsehood, of the adulterer and the whore."

But we must now go back to the "thirteen reasons" of the divine displeasure against the nation, issued by the Commission of the Assembly. They were felt by some of the Presbyterians themselves to be so stringent, and by others perhaps so inapplicable and even ridiculous, that they produced a reaction, which, though slight at first, gave rise to two parties in the Kirk, and grew into a factious opposition, even within the very short period I am now reviewing,—an opposition which, after undergoing various changes, and assuming different names, during the last two hundred years, has recently burst into a flame, which there seems at present no prospect of subduing.

I have already said that the Commission of the Assembly was a small but permanent body of ministers and elders, who represented the larger Assembly, which met only once a-year. So objectionable did the "reasons" appear to many, that

in a number of the parishes, the ministers refused to read them from their pulpits; alleging that "five or six men were too bold to give out reasons to a whole church, without a fuller attendance of their brethren." But instead of complaining of those men, it would perhaps have been more to the purpose if they had called in question and corrected that part of the constitution of their Kirk which gave the power to so small a body of acting as they had done. Mr James Wood, in particular, who had been one of the Commissioners at Breda, was displeased because the second reason asserted, that "crooked and corrupt ways were taken by sundry among us for carrying on the treaty with the King." Offended at this insinuation, which he took to himself, he set off in great haste from St Andrews to Stirling, to demand an explanation; but the members of the Commission soon found means to pacify him, by altering the words, so as to limit their application to the *lay* Commissioners, who were obliged to submit to the charge as they best could. The Earls of Cassillis and Lothian, however, remonstrated against this imputation on their conduct, but they do not seem to have got any redress. In truth, the accusation was not altogether unfounded, as we have seen in the Introduction to this Narrative. At any rate, this was the first time, since the outbreak of the Rebellion, that the infallibility of the Assembly's Commission had been called in question, or its words challenged, by the Presbyterians of Scotland.

Cromwell, all this time, had been marching detachments of his army between Edinburgh, Falkirk, and Linlithgow, but owing to various causes, without attempting to make any impression upon his enemies. On the 29th September, an Englishman of the name of Stapleton preached in the High Church of Edinburgh, before Cromwell and his officers, and a large concourse of hearers; for the Presbyterian ministers continued to shut themselves up in the Castle. "Many Scots," says the contemporaneous account, "expressed much affection at the doctrine preached by Mr Stapleton, *in their usual way of groans*; and it's hoped a

good work is wrought in some of their hearts.”¹ To the same effect an Englishman writes, early in the following month:—“ In Edinburgh and other places, the Scots come to hear our ministry, and they make such a groaning noise in the times of prayer, as I never saw; but it seems it is the custom of the people here to do so.”

It appears to have been about this time that the Marquis of Argyll proposed to the King to marry one of his daughters, thus virtually making her Queen of England, Scotland, and Ireland! He told Charles that “ he could not serve him as he desired, unless he gave some undeniable proof of a fixed resolution to support the Presbyterian party, which he thought would be best done by marrying into some family of quality that was known to be entirely attached to that interest; this, he thought, would, in a great measure, take off the prejudice both kingdoms had to him on his mother’s account, who was extremely odious to all good Protestants; and he thought his own daughter would be the properest match for him; not without some threats if he did not accept the offer, as the King told Colonel Legge, who was the only person about him that he could trust with the secret. The Colonel said it was plain that the Marquis looked upon his Majesty to be absolutely in his power, or he durst not have made such a proposal; and that, therefore, it would be necessary to gain time, till he could get out of his hands, by telling him that, in common decency, he could come to no conclusion in an affair of that nature, before he had acquainted the Queen his mother with it, who was always known to have a very particular esteem for the Marquis and his family, but would never forgive such an omission. But that was an answer far from satisfying the Marquis, who suspected Colonel Legge had been the adviser; and he committed him next day to the Castle of Edinburgh, where he continued till the King made his escape from St Johnstoun [Perth], upon which he was released,—the Marquis then

¹ *Cromwelliana*, p. 92. There was a Colonel Stapleton in the English army, some of whose letters are given in “Cary’s Memorials.” I have no doubt it was the same person who preached on this occasion.

finding it necessary to give the King more satisfaction than he had done before that time.”¹

What is meant by the “King’s escape from Perth” we shall see presently; but we may observe here, that the Queen-mother, though she had all along favoured Argyll and his party, did not relish this marriage any more than her son; and the messenger who had been sent to consult her on the subject, was so long in returning with an answer, that a change of events had by that time raised insurmountable obstacles to the match. Charles, however, consoled the Marquis, by promising (in a document dated 24th September), that, in the event of his restoration to the throne of England, he would make him a Duke, a Knight of the Garter, and a Gentleman of his Bed-chamber, and see him paid a large sum of money which was said to be due to him. Circumstances, however, it is well known, occurred in the interval, which led Charles’s advisers to recommend, after the Restoration, that the Marquis should be rewarded in a manner somewhat less agreeable to him. But to return from this digression.

The Committee of the Kirk and State now proceeded to add a further indignity to their unhappy monarch. I have stated that some of the royal suite, who had at first been ordered out of the country, were permitted to remain, on condition of retiring from Court, and having no personal intercourse with the King, and that, after the battle of Dunbar, a few of these had been allowed to return to him. But now this favour was to be withdrawn, as if his overseers were afraid of spoiling him by overmuch indulgence. The ministers, by their prayers and sermons on the late Fast-day, had persuaded their hearers that his Majesty had too many malignants about his person,—for, in all cases of this kind, they found it expedient first to secure the concurrence of the people,—and, therefore, under the plea of “purging his

¹ Lord Dartmouth’s Notes on Burnet’s History of his Own Times. Writers of the covenanting school gravely tell us, that the King wanted to marry one of Argyll’s daughters, but that the father refused to have so profligate a youth for his son-in-law !

household," they demanded the removal from his Court, of "all profane, scandalous, malignant, and disaffected persons, and that their place should be filled with those that were pious and well affected to the cause and Covenant, and who have not opposed the same by their counsels and their actions." These were vague expressions, and might be interpreted so as to exclude all, however innocent, who were obnoxious to the ruling party, and include all, however disloyal and fanatical, who were agreeable to them. Accordingly, an order came from the Committee of Estates, dated 27th September, that the following persons should leave the Court within twenty-four hours, and the kingdom within twenty days, viz., the French Marquis Villaneuffe, Lords Cleveland, Wentworth, Grandison, Wilmot, Widdrington, and St Paul, Sir Ed. Walker, Sir P. Musgrave, Sir F. Fortescue, Mr Long, Mr Progers, Col. Darcey, &c., twenty-four in number. The order stated, that Colonel Sir John Brown, and the officers of his Majesty's Life Guard, were "to put this present act into execution, with certification to all and every of the aforesaid persons, that if they fail to give obedience hereunto, the said Sir J. Brown is to apprehend them in any place within the shires where they shall be; and the officers of the Foot Guard to seize upon them within the verge of the Court, to be disposed upon as the Committee shall think fit." The civil execution of this order was committed to Sir James Balfour, Lyon-King-at-Arms, who thus himself relates the circumstance:—"I received this aforesaid letter at my own house of Kinnaird, about 9 o'clock in the morning, on Thursday the 3d of October, and was at Perth about 12 o'clock the same day; and after I had kissed his Majesty's hand, I shewed him my message. He desired me to forbear making intimation to nine of them, which he marked with a long score in the roll, until he spoke with the Lord Chancellor, to whom, and the Committee, he had written to spare these until the sitting down of the Parliament, but desired me to go on with the rest of them. That same night, at 9 o'clock, the Chancellor came to Perth, and spoke with the King on Friday morning, and brought him a letter from the Com-

mittee of Estates, containing an absolute refusal to suffer any of these persons sent to me in list, to stay about his person or Court; so I went on and made intimation to all, either by word or writ, conform to the act and missive of the Committee of Estates directed to me."

Notwithstanding the stringency of this order, we find that on the 11th of the same month, the Lords Cleveland, Wentworth, Widdrington, and Wilmot, presented a petition to the Estates, praying that they might be permitted to stay in the country, till they either got a pass from Cromwell to go to England, or procure money to transport themselves to the Continent. These four noblemen finally got leave to remain for an indefinite period, and accompanied the royal army into England in the following year. In fact, the tide of prejudice against "malignants" began to turn soon after this time, and the presence of a few of the King's most necessary attendants was first connived at, and finally approved.

The greater part of the royal suite were, however, summarily dismissed, and obliged to find their way to the Continent as they best could; and among these was Sir Edward Walker, to whose "Journal of Affairs" I am indebted for some of the foregoing facts, but who, from this time, could not of course furnish any thing from his own personal testimony. But it will be right to give here the concluding words of his Journal, because it describes the situation in which he left his unfortunate master in the beginning of October:—"He is outwardly served and waited on with all fitting ceremonies due to a king, but in his liberty, not much above a prisoner; Centinels being every night set about his lodging, few daring to speak freely or privately to him, and spies set on his words and actions. His bed-chamber is not free to himself, the Ministers almost daily thrusting in upon him to catechise and instruct him, and, I believe, to exact repetitions from him. In a word, he knows nothing of their counsels, either military or civil, but what they please to communicate to him. To conclude, therefore, except these men change their principles, or that God raise his Majesty other friends, he shall at the best be

but the shadow of a King, without power or authority to defend himself, or protect his subjects.”¹

This cruel and unreasonable conduct of the Covenanters, led Charles to enter into a confederacy with some of his friends, chiefly in the Highlands, who pitied his condition, and were anxious to do what they could for his deliverance. These friends consisted partly of the 80 officers and 4000 men who had been “purged” out of the Presbyterian army previous to the battle of Dunbar; and nearly all of whom, we may observe, were Episcopalians by religion, or rather would have been, had they been allowed the free exercise of their religion, which they were not, any more than the King. On the very day the order had been issued for the dismissal of the royal suite from the Court and kingdom, Charles wrote the following letter, partly in cypher, to the Duke of Hamilton:—“I have at last resolved that —— (cyphers)—by the —— (cyphers).—You will receive the particulars from —— (cypher)—and —— (cypher), and the reasons of it. I shall desire you to be thinking of preparing yourself —— (cyphers)—for to get you —— (cyphers).—And for fear that our masters should have some design against your person, which I am very much concerned for, I intreat you therefore to have a great care of that; and be assured that in what condition soever I am in, I will ever be your most affectionate friend.”

Charles had reason, at this time, to be apprehensive for his personal safety, and is said to have had even secret information conveyed to him, that his enemies were plotting to sell him to Cromwell, as “the accursed thing that troubled their Israel;” in which case, there could be little doubt as to what would be his fate. One evidence of this is, that when James Guthrie, the minister of Stirling, was tried after the Restoration (and executed for high treason), he was accused of having recommended that, at this very time, Charles should be imprisoned in Stirling Castle; and when some one said to him, that “it would be as well to take his life as imprison him,” he replied, “that the time had not *yet* come to do that, for that the one must be done before the other.”

¹ Sir Edward Walker's Historical Discourses upon several occasions, folio, 1705, p. 195.

In the 5th volume of Evelyn's *Memoirs* are four letters written by Charles to as many of his friends, and all dated St Johnstoun [Perth], 2d October, from which it would appear that (though they contain no distinct reference to his then position, which he would naturally avoid writing about), he was desirous of providing for himself and his friends, in the event of some foreseen, though undefined, contingency. In one of these, addressed to a Mr Hinton, he desires that a sum of money may be borrowed, and be "speedily sent into Holland" for his use. In another to a Mrs Twisden, he requests that "the George and seals left me by my blessed father" may be delivered to the bearer of the letter. In the third, to Sir John Greenville, who was Governor of Scilly, he directs him to "have a body of men in a readiness to countenance any attempt that shall be made by my good subjects in the west." And in the fourth, to Sir Richard Grenville, who was one of the late King's general officers, and uncle of the above, he instructs him to "keep yourself in readiness for my employments when it shall be seasonable." Who the two first of these friends were, and where they lived, I know not; but it is probable that the letters addressed to them, were to be conveyed by some individuals of the King's suite who were about to leave him; and they seem to have an obscure reference to the flight which he was then meditating, in order to escape from the personal violence which he dreaded from the Covenanters.

Sir E. Walker was obliged to leave the King on the 4th October. But he has given us some particulars of his flight to the Highlands, which he subsequently got from the few personal attendants who were still permitted to remain with him. He informs us, that there were "about 60 of the chief of the nobility, 1000 gentlemen, and above 10,000 others, that were engaged to establish his Majesty in his just authority, and to pursue his lawful interest; and the time and circumstances were so well stated, as that nothing but a fatality could have hindered it." The letters to the King's supporters regarding this interprise, had been written at Dudhope Castle, near Dundee, by his two Secretaries, Long and Oudart. Only three of his household were at first

made acquainted with his intentions, namely, his physician, and two gentlemen of his bed-chamber; and the 3d October was the day fixed for the enterprise. He was to have crossed the Bridge of Earne near Perth, and joined some of the nobility and gentry in Fife, who were ready to receive him with a party of horse. A strong body of Athole Highlanders were to seize Perth, and imprison the Committee of Kirk and State. The Marquis of Huntly, the Earl of Airlie and his son, the Earl Marischall, and General Middleton (afterwards Earl of Middleton), the commander of their forces, together with Viscount Dudhope, and the public authorities of Dundee, were to be on the alert, and prepared to co-operate; and, I may observe here, that so well prepared were the royal party in Fife, that as soon as they heard of the King's escape from Perth, a considerable number of them assembled in Dundee, and were on their way to join him, when, to their extreme mortification, they received the intelligence of his surrender.

The King had communicated his design to the Duke of Buckingham, who had not been ordered to quit the Court, owing to his close alliance with the Covenanters; and also to Lord Wilmot, who, though included in the order to depart, had not yet gone, and was afterwards permitted to remain. These noblemen represented to the King, in such strong terms, the risk incurred both to himself and to his friends, by such an enterprise, and the small chance there was of ultimate success, that they succeeded in persuading him to give it up, for the time at least, and to send messengers to acquaint his coadjutors with his change of purpose. This deranged the whole plan, and caused its failure when attempted. For the very same day, the King changed his mind, and conceived there was yet time enough to follow out his first intention; but he resolved to go into Angus, instead of Fife, that he might be in a place of greater safety, and nearer to his Highland supporters. "On the 4th October," says Balfour, "the King's Majesty, as if going on hawking, went away from St Johnstoun [Perth] on horseback, about half-an-hour past one in the afternoon, accompanied only with these following servants, Henry Seymour,

a Groom of his Bed-chamber, Mr Rodes, Mr Andrew Cole, and Mr Thomas Windham, three gentlemen of his stable, with Mr Cartwright, a Groom of his Privy Chamber, without any change of clothes or linens more than was on his body, in a thin riding suit of stuff." He rode gently across the South Inch of Perth, and then galloped till he came opposite Inchyra, at which place he crossed the river Tay. Without stopping, he proceeded till he reached Dudhope Castle. On the road he met with his friend Lord Balcarras, who, by the King's desire, proceeded to Perth, and reported to the Committee there, that he was merely gone north to raise troops for the defence of the country. At Dudhope he found the Earl of Lauderdale, who, at the King's request, immediately sent for the Earl of Crawford, one of his Fife supporters; but before he arrived, he had proceeded to Auchterhouse, belonging to the Earl of Buchan, another of his friends. One account says, that Colonel Montgomery, a younger son of the Earl of Eglinton, and one of General Lesley's officers, overtook him at Dudhope Castle; and there waiting upon him, entreated him upon his knees to return with him to Perth, which Charles positively refused to do. From Auchterhouse, accompanied by Lords Buchan and Dudhope, he went on to Cortachy Castle, the seat of the Earl of Airlie. This last mentioned nobleman, Balfour is pleased to call "an excommunicated papist." It was true, he had been excommunicated by the Kirk for having, under the Marquis of Montrose, at the battle of Kilsyth, fought against, and signally defeated, the Covenanters; but as to his religion, he was a staunch Episcopalian, which his descendants continue to be to this day. Little as Charles had carried with him from Perth, he had taken two prayer-books; and, what seems remarkable, a MS. containing some of Euclid's problems. These he left behind him when he quitted Cortachy, and they are still preserved by the family as valuable relics. The Earl of Airlie and his son Lord Ogilvy,¹ with about sixty of their feudal attendants,

¹ This was the Lord Ogilvy who had made his escape, four years before, from the Castle of St Andrews, by exchanging clothes with his sister; had it not been for which, he would have been executed for his connexion with Montrose.

accompanied the King, early next morning, as far as Clova, a village far back among the Grampian Hills, where he hoped to meet the Marquis of Huntly and his clan.

Meanwhile, the utmost consternation prevailed at Perth, in consequence of the sudden flight of the King. The Presbyterians not only feared losing possession of his person, but perhaps they also feared being attacked by two armies at once; by Cromwell in the south, and by the Highlanders in the north, headed by the King himself. The Lord Chancellor Loudon immediately secured the town of Perth, by closing the gates, and assembled as many of the Committee of Kirk and State as he could, to consider what ought to be done. The result of their deliberations was, that they resolved to send a deputation of their body, consisting of the Earls of Lothian and Dunfermline, Sir Chas. Erskine, and the Rev. Mr Durham, to the King, to allay his fears for his personal safety, and to try by all means to prevail on him to come back. "There was written a mild and discreet letter, beseeching his Majesty to return from that evil way he had taken, which might prove destructive to himself, his posterity, and kingdom, if he did not speedily return. The Commissioners had ten articles of instructions given to them, which they were to manage according as necessity should require." But these instructions were superseded by the King's unexpected return.

When Charles reached Clova,¹ instead of finding an army of Highlanders, as he expected, he found only the Colonel Montgomery already mentioned, with a party of horse—a brave but undecided officer, half royalist, half Covenanter. The King, knowing his doubtful character, hesitated whether he should confide in him; but while he was deliberating, Montgomery came up and told him, that if he chose to go on, he would not hinder him; but that if he would return with him to Perth, he would pledge his honour for his safety, and either put him in a better position than he

¹ Charles's having been at this remote village, among the Grampian Hills, is the only event that ever gave it celebrity; and yet the description of the parish in the "Statistical Account of Scotland" takes no notice whatever of the fact!

had been in before, or die at his feet. The master falconer, Sir Alexander Hope, came up about the same time, and gave his Majesty the same assurance. The King was the more inclined to listen to this proposal, not only because he was promised to have better treatment, and to enjoy more freedom than he had experienced before, but because two bodies of Presbyterian horse, amounting together to about 600, had come up, in the course of the day, in pursuit of him, and because he had not found the Highland force at Clova which he had been taught to expect ; though, at the same time, he was assured, that if he would advance farther north, he would find 5000 foot and 2000 horse ready to obey any orders he might give them. " So," says Sir E. Walker, " the King, either overcome with importunity, or seeing no visible power to resist, and distracted with variety of opinions, put himself into Montgomery's hands, who likewise passed his word for the security of all the rest"—meaning the Ogilvys and others who had joined him in the course of his flight. These, however, thought that they would best consult their own safety by remaining where they were for the present. Montgomery conveyed the King, the same day, to Castle Huntly, in the Carse of Gowrie ; and the next day, being Sunday, the Perth Commissioners, when they learned he was so near, went to meet him, and brought him back to the town. He arrived too late for the afternoon service of the Kirk ; but the Commissioners, unwilling that he should lose the benefit of a *sermon*, took care to provide a minister, who delivered one to him in his own apartment, and probably gave him a severe lecture or grave rebuke for his rashness in trying to escape out of their hands.

Charles pretended to feel great regret for having taken his recent step ; but whether he really felt any or not, it is certain that more favour was shewn to him afterwards than had been before ; among the proofs of which, he was permitted to be present at all the subsequent meetings of the Committee of Estates. The Presbyterians were afraid of losing him, and they tried to make his condition more agreeable to him, that they might induce him to remain.

This shews that it was expediency, and not disinterested loyalty, which had prompted them to bring him to Scotland; for if it had been the latter principle, they would have behaved dutifully to him from the beginning, and under all circumstances.

At the meeting which was held in Perth immediately after his return from his "start" (as it has been called), Charles expressed his sincere compunction for having been misled, "at the late unhappy business, which befel him through the evil counsels of some who had deceived both him and themselves; and expressed his hope in God that it would hereafter prove useful both to him and them, for rendering their confidence in each other more firm and efficient;" adding, that "he had requested his Chancellor to declare his mind more fully, in respect that he was not a very good orator himself." The Chancellor then proceeded to relate, at some length, the circumstances of the "start," dwelling upon the false representations that had been made to the King; and, to the best of his power, endeavouring to relieve him from the awkward position in which he was placed. Charles himself finished by saying, "that, *as he was a Christian, when he first went out that he had no mind to depart*; and he trusted in God it would be a lesson to him all the days of his life." Nothing could excuse this duplicity on the part of Charles; but it should be remembered that the persons who prevailed on him to put his hand to the Solemn League and Covenant, and to the Dunfermline Declaration, which they well knew contained statements utterly repugnant to his mind, were just as much to blame for his duplicity as he was himself. So much was the whole matter of his flight to the Highlands made up, that an act of indemnity was passed in favour of the royalist party who were concerned in the late enterprise; and the King issued an order to his northern friends to disband their forces, and submit to him and his Parliament on pain of treason. Some of them complied; but others, believing that he gave this order only by compulsion, remained in arms, and afterwards, in their zeal for the King's service,

caused considerable embarrassment to the Covenanters, as we shall see in the sequel.

But though the State passed an act of indemnity in favour of the King's friends, the Kirk was not disposed to be equally forgiving. They connived, indeed, at the King's own delinquency, but they resolved to punish his co-adjustors. This appears from the Presbytery entries of the period, of which the following may be taken as a specimen:—"Oct. 23. 1650. *To try anent any accessorie to the King's late escape.*—All the brethren were exhorted to try of any in these bounds, who have been accessorie to the King's Majestie his late escape, or the late rebellion in the north, and report their diligence therein from time to time." "December 11. *Lundie.*—The which day compeared the laird of Lundie, who being seriously examined, denied expressly any accession either to the King's late escape, or to the rising in the north, or any foreknowledge of these things; and that he was only in Dundee at that time visiting his brother, the Earl of Lauderdale, who remains there."¹ On this we may merely remark in passing, 1st, That it appears this Sir James Lundie was an old offender against the Kirk; 2d, That Dundee was the rendezvous for the *Five* accomplices in the "start;" and, 3d, That Lauderdale himself was afterwards proved to be concerned in it; all which circumstances make it more than probable that Lundie was also accessory to it. But the dread of the Kirk at this time in Scotland produced endless prevarications and falsehoods. In Roman Catholic countries the Inquisition itself was not more feared.

As a farther instance of the King's pretended repentance for his thwarted flight, he addressed a letter, on the 10th of this month, to the "Committee in Fifeshire," wherein he says (after giving some directions about their speedily raising the proportion of the horse and foot which fell to their share), "we declare unto you, that we are grieved that we should have listened to the suggestions of some wicked persons that were about us, and that we gave any

¹ Records of the Presbytery of St Andrews and Cupar, pp. 59, 60.

credit or belief to the calumnies they forged for their own sinisterous ends. We have seen and found the evil of the way they were leading us into, and now discern the folly and madness of it; and are more assured and confirmed of the fidelity and integrity of those whom these malicious men would have given us ill impressions of; and are resolved absolutely to adhere to and rely upon their councils, for we see they tend to the public good, and our service; and that the others seek us but for their own ends." The insincerity of this language is so transparent, that no one can fail to see through it.

Again, at a synodical meeting at Cupar on the 15th of the month, when Mr James Wood was moderator, "The Assembly ordains Mr Andrew Honeyman, &c. &c. to meet with the Moderator, for drawing of an letter to his Majesty anent his late escape to the Malignants." The letter was prepared, approved, and presented accordingly; and on the 6th November following, Mr P. Scougall reported that he and Mr L. Oliphant delivered the letter to his Majesty, which was very graciously accepted of by his highness, with great thanks to the Assembly, and a earnest desire *to pray for him* never to fall in the like escape in joining to the Malignants."¹ Here one does not know at which to be most amazed, the hypocrisy of the King, or the credulity of the ministers.

I have mentioned, that at the very time Charles set out on his flight to the Highlands, Sir E. Walker was under the necessity of leaving his master, and going to the continent. We find this and other facts confirmed by Colonel Daniel O'Neil,² one of the King's Irish supporters, in a letter to the Marquis of Ormond, dated the Hague, October 9: "Yesternight," he says, "Sir E. Walker came hither. Four days ago he left Scotland. He says that a great body of the Malignants and engagers, to the number of 10,000, in the north of Scotland, got together under the command of Middleton, and declared for his Majesty; that

¹ Records of the Synod of Fife, p. 170-1.

² We shall meet with this gentleman again in the march of the royal army into England. He was one of those who accompanied Charles into Scotland, but had been obliged to leave him immediately.—Clarendon, vi. p. 637.

secretly they sent for his Majesty; that he intended to go to them, but was betrayed by my Lord Wilmot, unto whom the matter was told by my Lord Duke of Buckingham; that notwithstanding, his Majesty got thirty miles on his way, when he was stopped by the entreaty of Colonel Montgomery, who assured him that the army at Stirling should be at his command totally; but that not so much this, as his finding the other party short of his expectations, made him return to Stirling, where he is now in much more authority and esteem than hitherto; that he is this day crowned; that those two Scots armies are treating, and great hopes of their agreeing, which is that which will banish Cromwell from Scotland. This is the sum of his news; and this is all we have to comfort us for the sudden loss of the Prince of Orange, who died on Sunday last of the smallpox, more through the ignorance or malice of the doctors, than the malignity of his sickness.”¹

The author of this letter confounds Stirling with Perth, and mistakes the day of Charles’s coronation, which did not take place till the first day of the following year, though it was intended to be earlier.

We find the same facts alluded to in the following letter from the poet Cowley to Mr H. Bennet, dated Paris, 18th November (N. S.) of this year:—“It is not easy to give you an intelligible account of the business of Scotland, though we have much in the prints of it, and Sir E. Walker, with some others, be newly arrived from them to Holland. Things very strange and remarkable have happened within these two months, but what will be the issue of them is yet very doubtful, though they look as if they meant to do us no good. About the beginning of October, a great number of lords and gentlemen (both of the King’s old party, and of the engagers), weary of the oppression of the prevailing faction, and seeing the folly and blindness of it in the opposing of the common enemy, resolved to take arms, and handled the matter so as that the King promised to come to them himself, for which a day of rendezvous was appointed; but the King, the night before, communicating

¹ Carte’s Collections, i. p. 389.

the counsel to some of the English company (my Lord Duke of Buckingham and Lord Wilmot are named), they had so little opinion of the solidity of the matter, that they persuaded the King to lay aside the resolution, and to send to the engaged persons not to assemble; at least, the King seemed to be persuaded; but several of the engagers met; and he, three days after, with very few in his company, under a pretext of hawking, was upon his way toward them; but the thing being discovered too soon (I know not by what means), he was overtaken by a party of horse, and besought (that is, forced) to return to Perth, and thence to Stirling, which is the head-quarters of the army; but for all this, either out of fear of the violence of the stream the other way, or out of desire to give him better satisfaction, he found himself better treated than before, sat daily with them in the council (which he never did before), and the 30th October was appointed for his coronation."

When Cromwell heard of the King's elopement to the Highlands and return to Perth, he wrote a letter on the 9th October from Linlithgow to the Committee of Estates, expressing his desire for an accommodation, in order to prevent the further effusion of blood:—"The grounds and ends of the army's entering Scotland," he says, "have been heretofore often and clearly made known unto you, and how much we have desired the same might be accomplished without blood; but according to what returns we have received, it is evident your hearts had not that love to us, as we can truly say we had towards you; and we are persuaded those difficulties in which you have involved yourselves by espousing your King's interest, and taking into your bosom that person in whom (notwithstanding what hath or may be said to the contrary), that which is really malignancy, and all malignants do centre; against whose family the Lord hath so eminently witnessed for bloodguiltiness, not to be done away with such superficial and formal shows of repentance as are expressed in his late declaration; and your strange prejudice against us, as men of heretical opinions (which, through the great goodness of God to us, have been unjustly charged upon us),—have occasioned your rejecting

of those overtures, which, with a Christian affection, were offered to you before any blood was spilt, or your people had suffered damage by us," &c. It scarcely became Cromwell to talk of his love for the Scots, after his inhuman treatment of their wounded and prisoners at Dunbar; nor to speak of the bloodguiltiness of the royal family, after his own Irish massacres, and accession to the murder of the King; nor to deny the charge of heresy, at a time when all England was swarming with his sectaries. And so probably thought those to whom this letter was addressed, for it had no other effect on them than to make them adhere to their former determination. The two parties differed so widely on first principles, that there could be no hope of an amalgamation between them. The one were "blasphemous and perfidious sectaries;" the other, "a hypocritical nation, a seed of falsehood, and children of transgression." The English identified Christianity with puritanism, lay-preaching, and independence; the Scots, with general assemblies, kirk-sessions, and covenants. It is difficult to say which of the two was widest of the truth.

Scotland was, in October and the beginning of November, in a very peculiar and embarrassing situation. The government itself was in a most anomalous condition; for the King, who was nominally the head, could scarcely be said to enjoy personal freedom. Besides this, there were now four independent armies in Scotland, pursuing different objects, and occupying, distracting, and wasting the country; so that, as one of the English commanders truly enough said at this very time;¹—"Our work is to stand still to see salvation wrought for us, this nation being destined for ruin, which makes them thus divide among themselves when an enemy is in their bowels." *First*, there was the main Presbyterian army, amounting to about 20,000 men under General Lesley, occupying the centre of Scotland, and following up the terms of the Covenant with some measure of consistency at least, inasmuch as it sought "the honour and happiness of the King's Majesty and his posterity," which the Covenant

¹ True Relations, p. 336.

recognised in these words. *Secondly*, There was the English or Sectarian army under Cromwell, of about equal strength, occupying all the south of Scotland, and keenly opposed both to the King and the Covenant. *Thirdly*, There was the Highland or Episcopal army of 10,000 men, in the north of Scotland, under the command of General Middleton, devoted to the King, but as much opposed to the Covenant as the English, though on different grounds; and this, I need hardly add, was the party with which the King would gladly have identified himself, had he been at liberty to follow his own secret wishes. And, *fourthly*, There was a new army which sprung up at this time in the west of Scotland, which, for the sake of distinction, has been called the Westland or Ultra-Covenanting army, and which originated with the violent party that had promulgated the "Thirteen reasons of the divine displeasure," quoted in p. 92. Under the influence of religious fanaticism, this body pushed their favourite dogmas to most unwarrantable extremes; and impatient themselves of control, would give no toleration to those who differed from them. Professing an adherence to the Covenant, they set aside that part of it which declared for the King, on the plea that he was a hypocrite and a malignant. And I may here remark, that this was the same party which, after the Restoration, gave so much disturbance, by their unceasing efforts to "extirpate prelacy," agreeably to the terms of their Covenant, that Government was compelled, in its own defence, to use strong measures to keep them under; and in the exercise of which, as commonly happens in like cases, many of the deluded followers were confounded with their ringleaders, and unfortunately suffered along with them.

Here, then, were four armies in Scotland at this time: the Presbyterian army, which was for both King and Covenant conjoined; the English army, which was for neither; the Highland army, which was for the King without the Covenant; and the Westland army, which was for the Covenant without the King. So much had this obnoxious Covenant caused dissension among those who ought to have been all united under one head!

Before I proceed to give some account of the rise and dispersion of the Westland Army, I will give the history of the Highland Army till the time of its junction with the Presbyterians, which happened in the following month. But this history must be very concise, as we possess only a few facts from which any full or connected narration can be obtained.

As the Highland royalists felt distrustful of the King's Presbyterian supporters, and therefore unwilling to lay down their arms till they saw what turn things might take, the Committee of Estates sent their General, Sir John Brown, against them; either to offer them pardon, on condition of their submission, or to fight them if they refused. On the 21st of this month, Brown fell in with a small, but brave, division of their troops, under the command of Sir David Ogilvy, at Newtyle in Angus, where an action ensued, which ended in Brown's defeat. When this news reached Perth, the Committee of Estates ordered Lesley himself to march against the "rebels," as they termed them, "with fire and sword, till they were totally suppressed." Previously, however, Lesley had an interview with the King, on the 24th, in his bed-chamber; immediately after which, he went across the Tay with 3000 horse, and marched into Angus, with the view of encountering the Highlanders, and concluding a peace with them. Meanwhile, the King had sent for Lord Ogilvy, who came to him on the 26th. They had a long conference together, "in the summer-house on the water (none being present but my Lord Dunfermline), when his Majesty shewed him, that, if they layed not down arms presently, it would ruin both him and them without recovery." This representation, when submitted to the Highland forces, led their leaders to address a letter to General Lesley, in which, after stating their resolution to stand or fall together, they expressed the utmost anxiety for peace, and union with him in repelling their common enemy the English; not objecting to the Covenant (which they knew would be to no purpose), but desirous of preserving the King's person and prerogative inviolate, as well as the liberty of his subjects. This letter was signed by the

Marquis of Huntly,¹ the Earls of Athole, Airlie, Buchan, and Seaforth, the Lords Ogilvy, Dudhope, and Sinclair, &c. and Sir John Middleton, the Commander of the Forces; and it appears to have produced the desired effect; for, on the 29th, an "Act of pardon and indemnity," signed by the Lord Chancellor Loudon was sent to the "northern rebels." In this act, after referring to the King's recent flight and return, it is said, that "understanding some persons have convocated themselves and risen in arms; and his Majesty being desirous out of his royal wisdom and clemency to reclaim and reduce all such persons unto obedience, therefore his Majesty, with advice and consent of the Committee of Estates, doth hereby assure and declare, that none of the said persons who have lately taken arms, shall be questioned or challenged thereupon; and hereby grants unto them, and every one of them, a free act of pardon and indemnity for any censure and punishment for the same, &c. providing the said persons who are in arms, forthwith disband, lay down arms, and behave themselves as faithful and loyal subjects in time coming; and do make their humble addresses to the King's Majesty, and the Committee of Estates, or the ensuing Parliament, and supplicate them for the benefit of this act and pardon," &c. &c.² The same authority adds, that, on the 4th November, the northern rebels laid down their arms, and accepted of the act of indemnity, by a treaty with Lieutenant-General Lesley at Strathbogie; and so this matter was happily terminated.

Mr Cowley thus alludes to some of the above particulars in the following letter to Mr Bennet:—"In the meantime, the other party grew in strength, chose Middleton their General, and became a body of about 5000 men. To them was Sir J. Brown sent with a party of two regiments of horse, to offer them an act of indemnity, and, in case of refusal, to reduce them by force; he sent the message to them,

¹ The Presbytery Book of Strathbogie states, that there was to have been a meeting of the presbytery on the 30th October, but "which was not kept, in respect Lewis Gordon (Marquis of Huntly) with an malignant party of horse, were within the bounds of the presbytery, seeking, and as the brethren were informed, taking horses wherever they could find them."

² Balfour's Annals, iv. p. 132.

and added, that if they returned a dilatory answer, he would hang up their messenger. Their answer was very quick, for they fell presently upon him, and took, slew, and dispersed the whole party. This brought down the pride of the violent faction to a treaty with them, and hostages were given on both sides; the treaty was but begun when Sir E. Walker came away, though it was generally believed that the issue of it would be the union of all parties, and admission of all persons into the service. The Lords risen in arms were Murray, Huntly, Earl of Athole, Marischall, and many more. Mr Long, Mr Progers, and Dr Fraser, are again banished for having had a hand in this business.”¹

The chief thing that occurred to mar the Highland treaty was, that the Commission of the Assembly, on the motion of the Rev. Mr Guthrie, and with the help of “two or three votes of elders” subject to his influence, thought fit to excommunicate the General Sir John Middleton. This was done by Guthrie, to mark his disapprobation of the act of indemnity being extended to malignants; and though the King sent a special messenger to him to delay the publication of the sentence, he had the insolence to proclaim it from his pulpit at Stirling, on the following Sunday. The circumstances were these:—Just as Guthrie was going into his church, a messenger arrived with a letter from the King, or from some nobleman on the part of the King, earnestly requesting him to delay the reading of the sentence for that Sunday at least. When Guthrie had read the letter, he put it into his pocket, and desired the messenger to come with him to church, after which he would give him an answer. The messenger went with him accordingly, and, to his astonishment, heard the preacher coolly read the sentence of excommunication from his pulpit, as if nothing had been done to prevent it! Of this Guthrie, Balfour (himself a Covenanter) says, “he was a prime enemy to monarchy, a chief plotter

¹ There is one other letter from Mr Cowley in the “*Miscellanea Anglica*,” of 5th December this year; but as it contains nothing but rumours concerning the state of matters in Scotland which had reached the writer, every one of which was untrue, I think it unnecessary to give any extract from it. One of these rumours was, that the King had been thrown into prison by the violent party of the Presbyterians.

of the Western remonstrance, division and mischief, and a main preacher for the Sectaries." Besides this violent proceeding, the Commission of the Assembly suspended from the communion all who were actually in arms in the Highland rebellion, till the next General Assembly (which was not to meet till July next year), to which they were referred for farther censure; and all who were accessory to the King's escape, were to be reported to the Commission at its next meeting.

It is to be observed here, that though the Highland troops had submitted, and taken the benefit of the act of indemnity, they were not yet permitted to serve in the Presbyterian army, on account of their "malignancy." But the time was at hand when this obstacle was to be removed.

I must not omit to state, that when General Lesley was at Aberdeen, on his way south from Strathbogie, the Messrs Cant, father and son, both ministers, waited on him, and told him "they could not *in conscience* assist the King to recover his Crown of England, but thought one kingdom might serve him very well; and one Crown was enough for any one man, one kingdom being sufficient for one to rule and govern." This was precisely what Mr Livingstone had told the King himself at Dundee, in the July preceding (page 41). But this was meddling with a matter in which these reverend gentlemen could have no possible concern. What their *conscience* could have to do with the matter is not very apparent. Charles had the very same right to the Crowns of England and Ireland, that he had to the Crown of Scotland.

Let us now trace the rise and progress of the Westland or Ultra-Covenanting Army, till its dispersion at the close of this year. Its religious leaders were the Reverends J. Guthrie and P. Gillespie,¹ who were uniformly distinguished

¹ Either this Gillespie should have been condemned after the Restoration, or James Guthrie should have been acquitted, for they were both equally guilty. And so thought the King himself; for when, after Guthrie's execution, Gillespie was tried, and through some private interest acquitted, he remarked, that if he had suspected the Court was going to acquit the latter, he certainly would have pardoned the former. Baillie tells us, that they were both "passionate against the proclaiming of the King, till his qualifications for government had first been tried and allowed."

for recommending the severest measures against the royalists, as well as for imposing, from time to time, the most stringent obligations on Charles himself, and treating him more as a prisoner than as a prince. They went so far as to condemn all the treaties made with him as unwarrantable, and therefore void, and to advocate the necessity of entirely abandoning him (in spite of all the promises they had made to him, and the concessions he had made to them), until he gave "satisfactory evidence of a complete change in his principles and practice;" though, what amount of evidence they would have deemed "satisfactory," perhaps they themselves could not have determined. Mr Guthrie wrote a book, soon after this time, which he entitled, "The Cause of God's Wrath against Scotland," in which the strongest charges are preferred against the King and his adherents for their malignancy; and not only so, but the Committee of Estates, and the General Assembly, are accused of unfaithfulness to the obligations of the Covenant, as well as of undue leniency and submission towards a hypocritical prince; and to "causes" such as these, he ascribes the loss of the battle of Dunbar, and all the misfortunes with which Providence was then visiting the land! In this book, in short, are embodied all the extravagant opinions which were maintained by the Ultra-Covenanters, of which we have seen, and may again see, some specimens in the course of this Narrative.

The leading men of this party succeeded in convening a number of influential gentlemen and ministers of the associated counties of Ayr, Renfrew, Wigton, Dumfries, and Galloway, and passed a motion to raise 5000 horse for the defence of the country, as well from internal as from external foes. They also recommended to the meeting such officers as they thought best fitted to command this new army; men, however, more eminent for their spiritual than for their military attainments; and, to complete the whole, they raised 100,000 merks to keep it in the field. Had this army acted cordially with the other under Lesley, joined as he now was by the Highlanders, Cromwell would undoubtedly have been compelled to return to England. But

their military leaders Colonels Strachan and Ker, and their subordinates, in concurrence with their religious leaders, Gillespie and Guthrie, and *their* followers, feeling their strength, and having no desire to connect themselves with the King and his adherents, refused to serve under Lesley. They stigmatised him as “ a natural graceless man, whom the Lord would never bless.” They even began to manifest leanings to the English, and a wish rather to negotiate than to fight with them ; and, at any rate, to abandon the King as a hypocrite and incorrigible malignant. They had little relish for Cromwell’s sectarianism, but they were more opposed to the King’s malignancy. Samuel Rutherford, one of the organs of this party, was not ashamed to confess, in a public document, that he and his friends “ hated sectaries with a perfect hatred ;” how great then must have been their hatred of malignants !¹

In their anxiety to conciliate these zealots, the Committee of Estates appointed some influential noblemen and ministers to meet with them, and persuade them to unite with their brethren in defence of their common Covenant and country. But it was soon found that any attempt at accommodation served only to widen the breach. The Western party, in order to embody their views, drew up, on the 17th October, what they called “ The humble Remonstrance of the Gentlemen, Commanders, and Ministers attending the Forces in the West, addressed to the Right Honourable the Committee of Estates.” I will give an epitome of this document, as shewing what human nature is, and the strange lengths to which some men will go in pursuit of a fanatical theory. After touching on the discomfiture at Dunbar, as an evidence of the divine displeasure, and asserting that “ the Lord had been *deceived* and *ensnared* by the King’s dissembling (a strange expression surely, as if the Lord could ever be deceived or ensnared by any of his creatures), they proceed to specify the national offences. The *first* of those they allege is, the evil of their proceedings with the King in having admitted him to the kingdom, before he had given any satisfactory proof of sincere repentance for

¹ Records of the Presbytery of St Andrews, p. 43.

his sins in following the evil ways of his father ; and acting so far at variance with his duty as to pardon the Irish Papists who had shed the blood of so many thousand Protestants, and allowing them the free exercise of their religion ; and encouraging the Marquis of Montrose to invade the kingdom ; and though the King had taken the Covenants, *that* could not be viewed as a mark of his repentance, so long as he persisted in his former conduct. 2. There was too great haste in addressing the King at Breda, without due deliberation, and asking the divine counsel ; which was the more necessary, from the new evidence which appeared of his dangerous intentions. 3. The treaty ought not to have been continued, after it was discovered that the kingdom was actually invaded by that ‘apostate rebel James Graham,’ with his Majesty’s sanction. 4. Some of the Commissioners were too forward to conclude the treaty, as they did not insist on the satisfaction demanded by the Parliament, but employed men of evil principles to persuade the King to temporize, so that his compliance could be no better than hypocrisy. 5. When the Parliament had disapproved of various parts of the treaty of Breda, the Commissioners did not intimate the same to him with sufficient plainness ; but allowed him, and a wicked company of Scotch and English malignants, to embark for Scotland, contrary to their most express instructions ; and moreover, after the discovery of his intercourse with Montrose, at the very time of the treaty, he was admitted to the exercise of public authority, without any proof of a real change in him. 6. The King continues, even yet, to encourage the same malignant party in the kingdom, and to prefer their company and counsels to all others ; and still corresponds with the most notorious enemies of the Reformation, as the Marquis of Ormond, the Earl of Newcastle, and men of like principles. 7. He refused to sign the Dunfermline Declaration, till it was in a manner extorted from him. And, 8. He made an unjust application to the Committee of Estates for a conjunction between them and the malignant party ; and when this was refused, he privately deserted from Perth, for the manifest purpose of joining the malignant forces, and opposing the lawful authorities.

They go on to say, " If it be a sin in us to have put in the King's hands the exercise of power in this nation, before evidences had of a real change in him, how much more sinful must it be to have designed, or to have endeavoured, the putting more power in his hands in England ; we cannot judge otherwise of such a design, than to be preferring man's interest to God's, and betraying his cause and people into the hands of one who had not laid down his enmity against both." " When we compare together the assurances that were given to the Malignants that were with the King in Holland ; the bringing of those home ; the studious endeavours that have been used to keep some of them in the kingdom, and about the court ; the admission of all the Malignant party to resort to the court without any effectual restraint ; the grudging at the purging of the army from Malignant persons ; the obstructing of the purging of the King's family and life-guard of horse ; the pleading of some in the judicatories for persons that are excluded from trust by the public resolutions ; the profession of others in the Committee of Estates of their desire and resolution to put power in the hands of known and eminent Malignants in Scotland ; of raising the Malignants of England in arms, under the name of the Kirk's party ; and the endeavours that have been used to hasten the King's coronation, and for putting him in the full exercise of his power, notwithstanding that he has not forsaken his evil counsellors and company of Malignants, according to the treaty ; we wonder that your Lordships are not ashamed so quickly to have turned aside, and forgotten your late vows, and the many bands that are upon you, to abstain from such ways. And we humbly think that your Lordships give too great occasion to the enemy that has invaded our land to charge you with a malignant design, and setting up the old Malignant interest."¹

It is needless to offer any comment on this singular remonstrance, except that it was the production of men who could see the mote in their King's eye, but could not dis-

¹ Balfour's Annals, iv. p. 141. The whole of this document ought to be read, as affording perhaps the most remarkable example of fanaticism on record ; and yet there are not wanting men in our times who defend it !

cern the beam in their own, and whose extravagant fanaticism and disloyalty far outweighed his insincerity. They were in the condition of dogs which have got a false scent, which only leads them farther from their prey ; or like men in a labyrinth, who get hold of a wrong clue, whereby they only entangle themselves the more deeply in its mazes. .

This Remonstrance, I may here remark, became afterwards so much a standard of rebellion, and a rallying point for the disaffected, that the Parliament, in the following year, was obliged not only to forbid all his Majesty's subjects to disperse copies of it, but to come forward, and, under their hand, declare their disavowal of its contents, and promise never to meddle with it, on pain of being prosecuted as " seditious persons, and raisers of commotion and division, and breakers of the peace of the country."¹

As if the Remonstrance had not been sufficiently stringent and insulting, the same party followed it up, on the 30th, by another document, still more so, in which they say,— " First, It being manifest that the King's not prosecuting the cause of God, nor walking in any subordination to God, but rather in opposition to the work of God and the Covenant, and cleaving to all the enemies of the same, we do therefore, according to the [West Kirk] Declaration of the Church and State of 13th August 1650, disclaim all the sin and guilt of the King and his house, both old and late ; and declare, that we do not allow him nor his interest, in the state of the quarrel betwixt us and the enemy, against whom, if the Lord will, we are to hazard our lives ; and, Second, that within Scotland he ought not to be entrusted with the exercise of his power, till such time as there be convincing and clear evidence of a real change in him ; and that an effectual course ought to be taken for preventing, in time coming, his conjunction with the Malignant party, and for trying the cause of his late deserting of the public counsels, and of all who had accession thereunto ; and for disabling Malignants, until they be out of capacity to hurt the work and people of God."² It needs no comment to prove what kind of treatment the King and the Malignants would

¹ Acts of Scots Parliament, vi. p. 622.

² Peterkin's Records, p. 604.

have received from the authors of this extraordinary document, had they possessed uncontrolled power over them.

When the Western Remonstrance came before the Committee of Estates, which was not till the 23d November, they entered upon the discussion of it with all the warmth which its contents were calculated to excite. The Lords Argyll, Lothian, and Balcarras inveighed against it as subversive of all government ; while Warriston, Chiesley, and the Laird of Humbie, without actually defending it, tried in some degree to palliate it. After protracted debates, it was agreed to appoint a committee to draw up an act, in which they say, that “ they have always been, and are still willing, that all faults and miscarriages of any, as well in their personal carriage as in discharge of their public trust, may be discovered, redressed, and punished, according to the laws of the kingdom ;” but that “ they find the said paper, as it relates to the Parliament and civil judicatories, to be scandalous and injurious to his Majesty’s person, and prejudicial to his authority ; and as it relates to religion and church judicatories, they are to desire the Commission of the Church to give their sense thereon ; and that in regard of the effects that it hath already produced, and those that are like to follow thereupon, if not prevented, it holds forth the seed of divisions of a dangerous consequence,” &c. This document is dated Perth, 25th November.

When the Assembly’s Commission took up the matter on the 28th, they spoke of the Remonstrance in less severe terms. They admitted, that there were in it “ many sad truths in relation to the King and his family, and the public judicatories ;” but “ they found it their duty, nevertheless, to shew that there was also in it an entrenching on some previous determinations of the General Assembly, as well as on the acknowledged right of the King’s person and government, and observations which were likely to breed dissension in the Kirk and kingdom, of which the enemy had already taken advantage, and would yet take advantage ;” but they concluded, “ we do resolve to forbear a more particular examination of the said Remonstrance, expecting that at the next diet of this Commission, these worthy gentlemen, offi-

cers, and brethren, will give such a declaration and explanation of their intentions and meaning as may satisfy both Kirk and State, without any further inquiry or debate thereupon."

The author of Blair's Life informs us that the King sent a copy of the Remonstrance to Blair, desiring his opinion of it as his chaplain, and that the answer he gave was the same in substance with that given by the Commission of the Assembly.

These decisions of the State and the Kirk were extremely distasteful to the Remonstrators. Each party was sure the other was in the wrong; and thus the Presbyterian Covenanters, who a few months before were entirely agreed in their opinions, became divided into two hostile factions, whose existence and opposition have descended even to our own times. Their differences, which at the first were not great, gradually swelled into importance, and drove them to extremes, from which they would at one time themselves have shrunk. The one became by degrees more democratic and fanatical, and the other more moderate and loyal, than they themselves ever supposed they could have become. But out of this division some good arose in the end, because it gave birth to a conservative majority, which tended to keep the other in check; whereas, had they both remained in their former united state, nothing but unmixed evil could have been anticipated from the headlong course they were pursuing.

I must now go back to state that, on the 11th of this month, Charles had sent Mr Digby, one of his suite, from Perth, with a letter to the Marquis of Ormond. His interests in Ireland, as has been mentioned, had been ruined by his signing the Scotch Covenant, and the Dunfermline Declaration, and by his repudiation, though compulsory, of the treaty which he himself had empowered the Marquis to ratify with his Irish subjects. The object, therefore, of the above letter was to express his unabated confidence in the Marquis's ability and judgment; but, as he could no longer for the present be of any service in Ireland, to recommend him to withdraw from the government of that country, to repair to Paris till better times should

arrive, and there to advise with and assist the Duke of York, to whom the King was to write on the subject. The Marquis complied with his sovereign's desire, and quitted Ireland in the month following.¹

The sixth session of the Parliament met at Perth on the 26th November in the presence of the King, and continued its sitting till the 30th December. Andrew Cant preached the opening sermon, "and very plainly and boldly, according to his custom, did challenge his hearers that there was no *acting* against the enemy." This was one of the Cants which had told General Lesley, the month before, that he could not in *conscience* assist the King in recovering his English crown. In 1646 this preacher had been one of those deputed to attend Charles I. at Newcastle, where he behaved so rudely to the fallen monarch, that even his colleague Blair had to reprove him. But we shall hear more of him in the sequel. The Lord Chancellor, who was President of this session of Parliament, began its proceedings with a speech, in which he adverted to the state of the kingdom, and the enemy then invading it, whom he described as "a company of wicked and perfidious, yea treacherous blasphemers." The King, who was present, not only at this, but all the following sessions, also spoke, and concluded some common-place observations with these words; "That which increaseth my hope and confidence that God will yet continue to deal graciously with me is, that he hath moved me to enter into covenant with his people, a favour no other king can claim, and that he has inclined me to a resolution, by his assistance, to live and die with my people in defence of it. This is my resolution, I profess it before God and you, and, in testimony hereof, I desire to renew it in your presence; and, if it please God to lengthen my days, I hope my actions shall demonstrate it. But I shall leave the enlargement of this, and what farther I could say, to my Lord Chancellor, whom I have commanded to speak to you at greater length, and likewise to inform you of my sense, not only of the folly, but the sinfulness of my going from this place, and the reasons of

¹ Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond.

it." It is difficult to account for such language, except on the supposition that it had been forced upon him, and that, expediency having at first led him to adopt it, he imagined that the repetition of the offence was not worse than the first commission of it. It is impossible to believe that he really meant what he said, and probably every one present thought the same. But he had been moving with an increased speed down the precipice of duplicity; and now he seems to have had no longer either the wish or the ability to arrest his fatal progress.

Three fasts were enjoined by this Parliament; one as preparatory to the King's coronation,—between which ceremony and a fast it is not easy to see any connection, for it seemed like fasting while the bridegroom was with them. The coronation was fixed to be at Scone on the first of January following. The *second* fast was for the "contempt of the gospel," which yet, under the reign of the Covenant, *ought* to have been under a very flourishing state; and a third was for the *sins of the King's family*, and the nobility, meaning, I suppose, the "malignant" nobility.

And here I cannot help remarking, concerning the men who instituted these frequent fasts, that they had condemned and abrogated both the fasts and feasts of the "Holy Church Universal," each of which really commemorated an event in which all Christendom was concerned. This they had done on the plea that the Sabbath only was of Divine appointment; and yet they most inconsistently multiplied fasts of their own devising, some of which were of such a character that it would have been well if they had fasted for the most unchristian temper out of which they originated.

A Petition was presented to this Parliament from the Ministers of Lothian, Haddington, Linlithgow, &c., "shewing the pitiful condition of these places; how that heresies did begin to grow amongst them, and of their great necessities; desiring the Commissioners of the Kirk would, in their names and behalf, petition the King's Majesty and Parliament for some redress and speedy help." These petitioners should have looked elsewhere than to the King

and the Parliament, both for the cause and the cure of such disorders. But they were as yet blind to the true source of their misfortunes.

The case of General Lesley next came under the consideration of the Parliament, whose behaviour at Dunbar had been much censured. He himself gave in a statement exculpatory of his conduct, and requesting an examination of the allegations against him. Baillie says, that "he did as much press as any to have liberty to demit his charge, being covered with shame and discouragement for his late unhappiness, and *irritated with Mr James Guthrie's public invictions against him from the pulpit.*" But, he adds, there was no mal-administration in Lesley to count of, but the removal of the army from the hill the night before the rout, in consequence of the committee's orders, *contrary to his mind.* So that, in consideration of his eminent services at Marston Moor against Charles I., and at Philipshaugh, and in the North against the Marquis of Montrose, he was thanked for the same, and requested to continue in command of the army under the King, notwithstanding his late reverses at Dunbar, from being the cause of which he was exonerated. The King must have felt painfully and awkwardly when Lesley was complimented, in his presence, for the part he had acted against his own father and his Lieutenant-General Montrose, but he had no remedy.

There were also acts passed at this session of Parliament, that certain witches, which had confessed, should be executed; and that all males between the ages of sixteen and sixty, should be in readiness to serve in the army, with forty days' provisions, when called for.¹

On the 29th, the Commission of the Assembly gave in a long Petition and Remonstrance to the King and Estates of Parliament, in which they begin by calling on them, in substance, to consider "how necessary it is at this time for their Lordships to try and find out what, in their public ministrations, or private conversations, has contributed to the kindling of this great wrath burning against the land; and, in particular, First, Whether there had not been in some of them sinful precipitances, unstraight designs, and carnal

¹ Balfour's Annals, iv. pp. 182-188.

policy, in appointing addresses for treating with the King's Majesty, and in the way of carrying on and closing the same.¹ Secondly, whether there had not been among them any purposes tending to a compromise with scandalous, malignant, or disaffected persons, and enemies to the cause of God. Thirdly, whether it was right in them to grant an indemnity to those who were in arms in the late [Highland] rebellion, after God had put it into their power to bring them to justice. Fourthly, whether, notwithstanding the many petitions which had been sent to them, they had yet sufficiently 'purged the King's family' of scandalous and disaffected persons. Fifthly, whether they had rooted out of their own hearts and lives, covetousness, self-seeking, oppression of the poor, &c. And, lastly, whether they had shewn that courage in driving away the cruel adversary now trampling a great part of the kingdom, and ordinances of God therein, under his feet," which their ancestors shewed, when invaded by the same adversary?²

It is difficult for us, in the present times, so much as to comprehend the feelings which could prompt the constant renewal of the same representations. The last of these interrogatories, however, really was deserving the serious attention of the nobles and the nation at large. Their forefathers, in the time of Wallace and Bruce, in spite of the "darkness" of their age (it certainly was not darker than the one we are now reviewing), would never have allowed an enemy to be so long in the heart of their country, without making far more determined efforts to get rid of him than any these Covenanters had yet employed. Here was their King, as brave and enterprising as any of his predecessors, ready to lead them to a "gory bed, or to victory," against a band of religious sectaries; but, instead of following him, they carped at his theological opinions, drove away his cavalier companions, and ascribed the invasion of their land by the English to the "sins of his family," when, in reality, it arose from their own folly and pusillanimity.

¹ This refers to the treaty of Breda having been conducted by written correspondence, or "addresses."

² I have no doubt this is the same document which Balfour, iv. p. 189, tells us, was presented by seven or eight ministers, on the 30th November.

There were a few persons, however, who felt and lamented their country's wrongs, and did their utmost to free it from a foreign and most unjust invasion. One Watt, a tenant of Lord Tweeddale's, who had been personally aggrieved by the English, associating to himself some men of his own rank, fell upon the enemy's garrisons in the Lothians, killed or took prisoners about 400 of them in all, and enriched themselves with their spoils. Another individual, one Augustine, a Dutchman by birth, whose residence was in the neighbourhood of the Pentland Hills, and who had been "purged" out of the Dunbar army for malignancy, made frequent inroads, aided by a few followers, into the enemy's quarters, and cut off their stragglers by twenty and thirty at a time.¹

These, and similar retaliations, induced Cromwell to issue the following proclamation :—"I, finding that divers of the army under my command, are not only spoiled and robbed, but also sometimes barbarously and inhumanly butchered and slain, by a sort of outlaws and robbers, not under the discipline of any army ; and, finding that all our tenderness to the country produceth no other effect than their compliance with, and protection of, such persons ; and considering that it is in the power of the country to defeat and discover them, (many of them being inhabitants of those places where commonly the outrage is committed,) and perceiving that their motion is ordinarily by the invitation, and according to intelligence given them by countrymen ; I do therefore declare, that wheresoever any under my command shall be hereafter robbed or spoiled by such parties, I will require life for life, and a plenary satisfaction for their goods, of those parishes and places where the act shall be committed, unless they shall discover and produce the offender. And this I wish all persons to take notice of, that none may plead ignorance. Given under my hand, at Edinburgh, the 5th November 1650."

In regard to the Commission of Assembly's Petition and Remonstrance, already adverted to, the Estates did not give an answer to it till the 14th of next month ; but this

¹ Balfour's Annals, iv. p. 165.

may be the proper place to notice it. The answer was of a more submissive character than might have been expected, considering how uncalled for the document was, and contained an ample "confession of their sins" to their spiritual guides, though that doctrine was far from being any part of their religious creed. They acknowledged, "with all thankfulness, the pious zeal of the Commission for their seasonable warning." They profess to be "truly humbled, not only for the sins of the kingdom, but likewise for their own sins, in the public administration of their places, and for their personal guiltiness." If any of them who had been engaged in the treaty at Breda *did* use "precipitancy or unstraight designs," in carrying it on, and closing it, they will be most willing to make an ingenuous *confession*, and be sincerely humble for the same; and do *bless God who moved the King to grant all that was desired*." Though they have now added many persons to the army who were formerly excluded (which they had by the time this answer was framed), yet it shall be their care that the "cause and Covenant of God" be not injured thereby. And as to the purging of the King's family, they admit their guiltiness in that particular, and will be more careful about this in future; and they farther admit, that there had been a great deal of oppression of poor tenants, vexatious quartering of soldiers, unjust vexations, &c. "the committers whereof are not yet brought to trial, and condign punishment, but which we shall, God willing, endeavour to amend." Towards the end of this document, the original of which is tedious and verbose, they use these words:—"Upon serious and impartial examination of our own ways and conversation, we do ingenuously *confess*, besides the public sins of our administration in our places, that we have the guiltiness of many domestical and personal sins to be humbled for before God. *We have fallen from our first love*. We have not that zeal, unity, and courage, we had for the cause, at the renewing of our Covenant in the beginning of this work of reformation. Our former anxiety and unity are turned into jealousy and division," &c. &c.¹

¹ Acts of the Scottish Parliament, *in loco*.

What the real feelings of these statesmen were at this time, and whether they really meant what they said, it would be difficult to ascertain; but one thing is evident, that there was so far from being any *true* repentance in their confession, that it only amounted to an expression of regret that they had not been more disloyal and fanatical than they now were. It was therefore a repentance that needed to be repented of.

But possibly the whole answer was a piece of mockery towards the members of the Commission; and my reason for suspecting this is, that these statesmen were so far from intending to become more zealous in their covenanting tendencies, as they themselves promise in their answer they would become, that they were at this time avowedly moving in the very opposite direction; for they were treating the King with increased respect; they were not now insisting on the banishment of all his suite, as they had lately determined upon; they had re-admitted many "malignants" and "engagers" into the army; and finally, they were preparing to repeal, and, as we shall see, soon did repeal, "the Act of Classes," whereby the same persons would be restored to places of *civil* power and jurisdiction. For these reasons, I cannot help thinking, that when these statesmen say, "we have fallen from our first love," &c., they must have meant something very different from what such language would convey to the Commission of the Assembly.

"In the meantime," says Nicoll, under this date, "sundry fasts and humiliations were appointed through the kingdom for averting God's wrath; but the Lord was not yet entreated, but seemed to hide his face from his people; and truly the Lord had just cause; for all our fasts were but formalities, and the Lord's word had not force, power, nor strength of conversion and repentance, among this people; till his wrath and hot displeasure was poured out, turning the wisdom of the wise into folly, and the strength of the strong men into weakness."

Towards the end of November, Colonel Montgomery was ordered by Parliament to put himself at the head of the army in the West, with a view to connect it with that under

General Lesley. When Colonel Strachan heard of this proceeding he threw up his commission, and went over to Cromwell, whom he had once served before, and had been reckoned at best but a doubtful convert to Presbyterianism and the Covenant. This offence of going over to the enemy, was afterwards called "complying with sectaries," against which a special act was passed, subjecting all who should be guilty of it to the punishment of treason, excommunication, and forfeiture of goods to the King's use, which sentence was executed upon Strachan, though the offence was committed before the act was passed. Colonel Ker, on the other hand, unwilling to serve either the King or Cromwell, but preferring to be his own master, as soon as he heard that Montgomery was coming to take his command from him, made a rash attack upon the English under General Lambert, at Hamilton, early on the morning of the 1st of December. But his attempt proved unsuccessful, and ended in his overthrow, and his being taken prisoner; which had the effect of dispersing, and in a manner annihilating, the Westland army, as from this time we hear no more of it.

The following extract from the Presbytery Book of Lanark, of 28th November 1650, has evidently a reference to the motions of the English army at this time:—"The brethren got not liberty to sit down in presbytery, because immediately after exercise (divine service), the enemy came to the town of Lanark, being about the number of 4000 horse; and so they (the brethren) were forced to go away in haste out of the town; and the said horse stayed in Lanark till Saturday in the morning, and then went to Hamilton; and upon the next Lord's Day thereafter was that sad stroke at Hamilton."

Some partial attempts were made to collect the scattered fragments of the Westland army, but they came to nothing, which proved how thoroughly untempered was the mortar that had bound that body together. And, in truth, it was fortunate that this army had been so easily dispersed, for thereby the King got rid of men who were much more likely to do him harm than good; just as the army at Dunbar

would have done, after the royalists were expelled from it, if Cromwell had not conquered it; for, according to Sir James Turner, "if Lambert had not defeated Ker at Hamilton, the King would have been as safe at Perth as his father had been at Westminster." It was fortunate too, that Cromwell, rather than the Presbyterians, should have dispersed this army, as their own brethren were thus saved the odium of shedding their blood; and the blow came from those towards whom they had long entertained a too favourable tendency.

Having now brought down the narrative of events to the discomfiture and dispersion of the ultra-covenanting army, I may now go back to mention, that when Cromwell was in Glasgow in October, he went to hear a sermon from the Presbyterian minister of the High Church there, Mr Zachary Boyd. This reverend gentleman, with that boldness which characterised the preachers of those times, and with that habit of introducing politics and personalities into their discourses, made a furious attack upon the English commander who sat before him, for his alleged breach of covenant, his sectarianism, his accession to the murder of the late King, and his iniquitous invasion of Scotland. Baillie, in one of his letters, says that Mr Boyd "railed on him to his very face." The subject of the discourse was Daniel viii., which relates to an encounter between the ram with two horns, and the he-goat with one. The preacher made out Cromwell to be the he-goat, which, though at first victorious, was speedily to have its bones broken to pieces. The English General listened to him with patience; but one of his officers, who sat near him, whispered to him, that if it were his pleasure, he would pull the insolent rascal out of the pulpit by the ears. "Peace," said Cromwell, "he is one fool, and you are another." In the evening of the same day, he invited the preacher to a disputation on the points at issue between them; on which occasion, if we may believe the English account, the Puritan was too much for the Presbyterian. It is certain, at any rate, that the next time Mr Boyd preached, it was in a more mitigated tone. A Presbyterian version, however, of this disputation

is, that one of their ministers, Mr Hugh Binning,"¹ so completely non-plussed the Puritan party, that Cromwell asked who "that bold young man was?" and being told that his name was Binning, he answered, "he hath *bound* well indeed, but (putting his hand on the hilt of his sword) this will loose all again." It is not easy to say what amount of truth there may be in these anecdotes; but Cromwell's forbearing and frank manner towards the Presbyterian ministers would seem to prove that those of Edinburgh had no reason to fear any thing from him, had they remained at their posts, instead of seeking refuge in the Castle.

But I may be allowed to say something more concerning Zachary Boyd, before parting from him. He had been so much of an Episcopalian, in the early part of his career, that at the coronation of Charles I., in 1633, he welcomed that monarch to Edinburgh with a Latin oration, conceived in the loftiest strain of panegyric; and in the beginning of the Rebellion, he refused to receive the communion in any but a kneeling posture, as well as to sign the Solemn League and Covenant; but, overcome at last by persuasion, or by fear, or by the influence of example, he yielded those points, and submitted to the popular impulse. "At our townsmen's desire," says Baillie, "Mr A. Cant and Mr J. Rutherford were sent by the nobles to preach in the High Kirk (Glasgow), and receive the oaths of that people to the Covenant. Lord Eglinton was appointed to be witness there. *With many a sigh and tear, by all that people the oath was made.* Provost, baillies, council, all, except three men, held up their hands. Mr *Zacharias*, and Mr John Bell, younger, has put to their hands. The College, it is thought, will subscribe, and almost all who refused before." Mr Boyd was a man of wealth, a good scholar, a most voluminous writer, and a great contributor to the College of Glasgow. He composed no less than eighty-six works, some of which were published, and others still remain in manuscript; but it is chiefly as a poet, or rather would-be poet, that he has attracted attention. Among other attempts in this way, he composed a metrical version of the Psalms, which he in-

¹ See p. 7.

tended for the use of his kirk ; but of this nothing more need be said than what his friend Baillie said of it, in one of his Letters, “ Our good friend Mr Z. Boyd has put himself to a great deal of pains and charges to make a psalter ; but I ever warned him his hopes were groundless to get it received in our churches : yet the flatteries of his unadvised neighbours makes him insist in his fruitless design.” Among other works, he produced two volumes under the title of “ Zion’s Flowers, or Christian poems for Spiritual edification,” of which I will give one extract from a soliloquy supposed to be uttered by Jonah while in the whale’s belly :

“ What house is this, where’s neither coal nor candle,
Where I nothing but guts of fish do handle ?
The like of this on earth man never saw,
A living man within a monster’s maw.
Not so was Noah in his house of tree,
For thro’ a window he the light did see.
He sailed above the highest waves, a wonder ;
I and my boat are all the waters under.
He in his ark might go and also come,
But I sit still in such a straitened room
As is most uncouth, head and feet together,
Among such grease as would a thousand smother.
Eight prisoners were in Noah’s hulk together,
Comfortable they were, each one to other.
In all the earth, like unto me is none,
Far from all living, I here lie alone.”

But it is time I should leave both Mr Boyd and Cromwell, and return to the civil, religious, and military affairs of Scotland.

The defeat of Colonel Ker and the Westland army at Hamilton, not only freed the King from a dangerous ally, but there was a positive advantage which arose from it, namely, that the royalist party founded an argument upon it for strengthening Lesley’s army, by admitting into it all those who had hitherto been excluded on account of their religious opinions.

Accordingly, on the 4th December, a letter was ordered by the Parliament to be written to the Moderator of the General Assembly of the Kirk, “ to call a meeting of the Commission on the 18th to give their advice anent taking

in and excluding of persons from defence of their country." The Moderator replied, that there could be no meeting before the ordinary one of the 23d of the month ; wherefore the house ordered " a sharp letter " to be sent to him, desiring him to hold the meeting on the 12th, otherwise the Parliament would act independently of them, as they must go on to do that which God, their country, and every good man requires at their hand." This was peremptory language, and was the first time, perhaps, since the beginning of the rebellion, that the civil power had ventured to assert its superiority over the ecclesiastical ; and it was the more remarkable, because addressed to ministers, before whom some of the noblemen and gentlemen of this very Parliament had done public penance on their knees, clothed in sackcloth, for the pretended offence of having entered into the " engagement " in behalf of their late Sovereign !

The Commission met on the 14th of the month, and addressed the Parliament in a somewhat subdued tone. They repeated some of their old complaints, but they spoke with more temper and moderation than they had been used to do, which shewed that the decisive language of the Parliament was not without its effect upon them ; and in regard to the persons who might be permitted to rise in arms in defence of their country, their reply was, " that in this case of so great and evident a necessity, they could not be against the raising of all fencible persons in the land, and permitting them to fight against the enemy for the defence of the kingdom, except such as are excommunicate, forfeited, notorious, profane, and flagitious ; such as from the beginning were, and continue still, or are at this time, obstinate and professed enemies and opposers of the Covenant and cause of God. And for the capacity of acting, that the Estates of Parliament ought (as we hope they will) have a special care that, in the general concurrence of all the people of this kingdom, none be put in such trust or power that they may be prejudicial to the cause of God ; and that such officers as are of known integrity and affection to the cause, and particularly such as have suffered in former armies, may be taken special notice of."

This was, in a great measure, conceding the point which royalists had long been contending for, because most of the terms here used were so vague and indefinite, that they admitted of any construction which that party chose to put on them; and it amounted to a consent, that all who should sign the Solemn League and Covenant, from whatever motives, and who were not actually in a state of excommunication and forfeiture, might serve in the royal army.

But it must be observed that this decision was far from being unanimously agreed to. Even in the Commission there was a minority, and in the Kirk at large, a very noisy and powerful minority, who protested against it, and who were far from considering themselves bound by it, even after it became law. In some of the Presbyteries, particularly Aberdeen, Stirling, and Lanark, there was a majority against this new law, and these did not fail to make their opinions known and attended to. Messrs Guthrie and Bennet, ministers of Stirling, took the lead in this opposition; Sir John Chiesley declared that he would prefer going over to Cromwell at once than join with Malignants in defending the country; and many others carried these sentiments to the same pitch of extravagance. One might have expected that the disastrous defeat at Dunbar, which was caused chiefly by the expulsion of so many Malignants from the Presbyterian army, might have been enough to prevent a recurrence of the same folly. But though willing to crush the sectaries, and to uphold the King, they were indignant at the notion of accepting the help of his best friends in promoting these objects, simply because those friends were not as devoted to the Covenant, and to the theology of Calvin, as themselves! These fanatics (for what other name can we give them?), withdrawing from Lesley's army, joined themselves to, and strengthened, other malcontents and disaffected persons of similar principles; and thus was begun a deadly feud between the two factions. The same spirit and the same behaviour extended themselves to the various Synods and Presbyteries throughout Scotland; the majorities in which suspended or deposed

their brother ministers according as each party happened to outnumber its opponents.

The Parliament was not slow in availing itself of the permission thus obtained for recruiting the royal army. The act embodying this decision was termed the Public Resolutions; and hence all who adhered to these were named *Resolutioners*, which became a party distinction, as opposed to the minority who afterwards assumed the name of *Protesters*. An act of levy was passed on the 23d, in which all the counties, without distinction of parties, had their proportions of military force assigned to them; and letters were forthwith written to them in the King's name, authorising and enjoining them to bring their quota of troops, without delay, to head quarters. In the Memoirs of Sir Ewen Cameron of Locheill, there is a copy of the letter written to that chief and his clan, dated Perth, the 24th December, calling on them to raise their portion of the new levies, and "speedily and effectually rise and put yourselves in arms for the relief of your distressed brethren, and to revenge their bloodshed by the sword in divers corners of the country; besides the multitudes starved to death in prisons, and famished and dying every day, for want of bread, in each town and village."

These last words refer, I suppose, to the distress and scarcity which prevailed in that part of Scotland, which was occupied by the English, and also to the treatment of the Scottish prisoners who had been taken at Dunbar.¹

Most of these chieftains readily responded to the call of their Sovereign. All who had formerly been excluded on account of their malignity, now came forward, and were welcomed on condition of their abjuring, or pretending to abjure, in the Kirk, their former religious opinions, clothed in sackcloth, on the stool of repentance; which, from the example of their royal master, and with a view to serve

¹ Locheill failed to reach Stirling in time to be of any help to the King. When he was on his way with a thousand of his men, "Cromwell intercepted his march; and the King was obliged to pursue such measures as nothing but the desperate state of his affairs could put him upon." Memoirs, p. 95.

him, few of them scrupled to do. Among these were Lords Lauderdale, Linlithgow, Crawford, Seaforth, Carnegie, Montgomery, &c. and Sir James Turner. This last-mentioned officer, in his interesting autobiography, thus expresses himself on the subject of the re-admission of himself and others into the army:—"Behold a fearful sin! The ministers of the Gospel received all our repentances as unfeigned, though they knew well enough they were but counterfeit; and we, on the other hand, made no scruple to declare that 'engagement' to be unlawful and sinful, deceitfully speaking against the dictates of our consciences and judgments. If this was not to mock the all-knowing and all-seeing God to his face, then I declare myself not to know what a fearful sin hypocrisy is." Sir James himself was longer in being admitted than the rest, because of his upposed extreme malignancy.

I have only to add, as connected with this subject, that the records of the Presbyteries and Synods at this period, contain numerous entries of noblemen and gentlemen in their respective vicinities, performing public confession and penance for having been anti-covenanters and "engagers" (the advocacy of the "engagement" being sometimes called "the late horrid rebellion against God and his cause"), and also for having aided the King in his "start" to the Highlands. This penance is stated to be previous to their being received to the *Communion* and the *Covenant*, with a view to their entering into the King's army. Well might Sir James Turner call this "a fearful sin!" "All the churches," says Burnet, "were full of pretended penitents; for every one that offered his service to the King was received upon the public profession of his repentance for his former malignancy, wherein all saw that he was only doing it in compliance with the peremptory humour of the time." The trial of the Earl of Lauderdale, preparatory to his re-admission into the Kirk, is thus entered in the records of the Presbytery of St Andrews, from which a correct idea may be formed of the rest:—"Dec. 23. The which day, the presbytery received an act of the Commission of the General Assembly, dated Perth, Dec. 14th 1650, referring to

them John Earl of Lauderdale, that they may try the evidence of his repentance for his accession to the late unlawful engagement against the kingdom of England, and that thereafter they may receive him to public satisfaction for that offence. And likewise received a petition from himself, desiring that he may be admitted to testify his repentance for his accession to that *sinful way*, and be received to the *Communion* and renewing of the *Covenant*. The presbytery having at length heard the said Earl of Lauderdale, compearing before them, express and declare his sense of the sinfulness of that engagement, in the nature and grounds thereof, and having heard him humbly acknowledging his accession to that course, and sinful forwardness and activity, above many others, in contriving and carrying on the same, withall testifying his sorrow therefore, craving pardon of God for it, and promising in his strength, never again to own that or the like course; and being heard anent the King's Majesty's late escape, whereof for the most part he cleared himself, yet in somethings therein, his carriage being represented to him to be sinful, he acknowledged the same—do, after mature deliberation, find that they cannot refuse the said Earl of Lauderdale to testify his repentance publicly, and to receive the communion, and subscribe the Covenant, according to the order prescribed by the General Assembly; and therefore ordains Mr Jas. Macgill, minister at Largo, to receive him to public satisfaction in the parish church of Largo, upon the day of solemn humiliation (meaning the 26th of this month), and to receive his subscription to the Declaration appointed by the General Assembly 1649, to be subscribed by such as have been accessory to that engagement.”¹

It appears from the Session Register of Largo, of the above date, that all this was done as directed; but what kind of a preparation this hypocritical act was for receiving the holy communion, every unbiassed person may judge.

In the Cupar Presbytery Records in the same month, there is a detailed account of the confession, censure, and admission of the Earl of Crawford and Sir Mungo Murray

¹ Records of the Presbytery of St Andrews, p. 61.

for the like offences, p. 157–163. Crawford was not only rebuked, and made to do penance, for his being concerned in the “unlawful engagement,” and the King’s escape, but for having simply *intended*, as he himself acknowledged, to ask *leave* of the presbytery “to fight for the cause of God,” on the ground that he “had no lawful calling or power to ask such leave.” The Kirk was not satisfied with even this confession and censure as to the King’s flight (though the Earl had done no more than go to meet his Majesty at Dundee, by his own command, but found him gone, p. 104), for, in the following month, the same Peer was obliged, upon a week day, in his own seat in the kirk of Cupar, to declare his repentance, for removing of any scandal given by his going at that time to Dundee.” Immediately after which, it is stated, he marched with his regiment to Stirling.

In short, at this time, nothing could exceed the tyranny of the Presbyterian courts, on the one hand, and the pusillanimous submission of the Scots nobility and gentry, on the other. The great error of the latter was, in confessing that to be a sin, in order to please the Kirk, which their conscience and better judgment must have told them was a duty. They feared man more than God.

The same kirk records exhibit sad proofs of the degeneracy of the age, as to the prevalence of witchcraft, adultery, fornication, and even incest and bestiality, notwithstanding the severe punishments inflicted on the offenders; such as, in some cases, standing every Sunday for three quarters of a year (and in one instance for a year and a half), in sackcloth before the congregations of all the kirks of a presbytery in rotation.¹ In fact, the very remedies

¹ See the Presbytery Book of Strathbogie, *passim*; but I will confine myself to the close of this year. 14th August 1650. There is the case of a woman named Christian Gordon, having a child by her own nephew, which she murdered and hid in her house. On the body being discovered, she threw herself from a height and was killed. 29 Oct.—One Jas. Gordon for fornication, and for having “followed Jas. Graham,” was sentenced to appear in the church every Sunday for three quarters of a year in sackcloth. 13 Nov.—“Appeared again, Robertson in Keith, and having stood a half year in *juggis* (a yoke or iron ring, which secured the culprit by the neck and mouth) and sackcloth,

used to check the disease seem to have aggravated it, by familiarising people's minds with subjects which they should rather have been encouraged to dismiss from their thoughts. The minute details into which the ministers and elders of the Kirk courts thought fit to enter, in their investigations of such cases, could scarcely fail to do far more harm than good, and to increase the evils which they were trying to remedy.

I have already mentioned, that besides the fast for the King's Coronation, the Parliament had enjoined a *second* for "contempt of the Gospel," to be held on the 22d December; and a *third* on the 26th of the same month, for the standing grievance, "the sins of the King's family," on account of which so many useless expiations had already been offered up. Thus were these misguided men *fasting*, at the very season when all Christendom was *feasting* and rejoicing in commemoration of their Redeemer's nativity; nay, they held their usual sitting in Parliament on Christmas day.¹ The religious and festive observance of this anniversary was deemed popery or prelacy, which their Covenant taught them to abjure; and not only so, but the "observers of Yule" were classed with "scandalous persons, drunkards, and swearers," and as such, subjected to ecclesiastical censures.² But we shall mistake the matter, if we suppose that their fasts involved abstinence from food, or from any other ordinary indulgence. They were rather like those of the Jews, in the time of Isaiah, "fasts for debate, and to smite with the fist of wickedness;" for the preachers in their sermons *debated* the political questions of the day, and the intention of such debates was to *smite* those against whom they bore an antipathy; as, for example,

for her cohabiting in fornication with David Palmer, she was referred back to her own parish to be absolved the next Lord's Day."

The same day, the presbytery was desired to intimate to their congregations the excommunication of *one* person for "rape and murder;" of a *second* for bestiality; of a *third* for witchcraft, and of *two couple* for being "vagabond adulterers."

¹ Acts of Scots Parliament 1650. Cromwell, however, feasted, for he and his army kept this day as a day of thanksgiving for the surrender of Edinburgh Castle! Nicoll's Diary, p. 40.

² Records of the Synod of Fife, pp. 167-8.

they had lately done, or rather attempted to do, in regard to the treatment of the Highland royalist army, and other unfortunate malignants. Their object was to rouse the feelings of their audience, in reference to the subject before them, which they effected, by making it matter of vehement declamation in their sermons, and no less vehement entreaty in their prayers.

Principal Baillie, who was one of the moderate party (that is, “a King *and* Covenant” Presbyterian), has a letter written at this time to his friend Mr Spang, which will throw some additional light on the state of affairs in Scotland at the close of the year 1650. He says, that they daily expect to hear of Cromwell marching to Stirling to “mar the Coronation;” which he adds, “sore against my heart, was delayed to the 1st of January, on pretence of previously keeping a *fast* for the sins of the King’s family on Thursday next.” “It cannot be denied,” he goes on to say, “that our miseries, and dangers of ruin, are greater than for many ages they have been; a potent victorious enemy master of our seas, and, for some good time, of the best of the land; our standing force against this his imminent invasion, few, weak, and inconsiderable; our Kirk, State, and army, full of divisions and jealousies; the body of our people be-north Forth, extremely ill used by a handful of our own; many inclining to treat and agree with Cromwell, without care either of King or Covenant; none of our neighbours called upon by us, or willing to give us any help, though called. What the end of all this shall be, the Lord knows!”

The following document from the MS. of Nicoll’s Diary, in relation to the fast on Thursday the 26th of this month, I give *verbatim*, as it has never before been printed.¹—

¹ I find it *has* been printed by the Abbotsford Club in the Presbytery Book of Lanark. There are a few verbal differences of no importance. To make it more readable, I have introduced a few commas, but I have given it in the original spelling, for the purpose of shewing how very differently the people of Scotland and of England spelt their words two hundred years ago. I have now before me the original of a document put out by Oliver the Protector, in which, with the exception of two insignificant words, the spelling is exactly the same as it is at this day! Sir James Balfour’s Annals affords a good specimen of the Scotch spelling of the same period.

“ Heir is set down the Caussis of a Solempne Fast keipit by the Kingis Majestie and haill Congregatioun of this Kirk, upone Thursday the 26 of December 1650.—

“ 1. The long oppositioun that hes bene maid by the Royall Familie to the work of God, and progress of the Gospell, and persecution that hes bene maid by their auctoritatie, of many godlie, and faithful men since the Reformation begun in this land.

“ 2. That King James, after his swearing and subscriyving the Covenant, sould have so foullie fallen from the same; and, contrarie thairto, haif altered the Government of this Church, and brocht in Bishops and many either ceremonyis.¹

“ 3. The persecution that was followed by him against many faithful ministers for adhering to the Covenant and liberties of this Church, and testifeying against the corrup-tiones of the tyme.

“ 4. His laying a foundation for bringing in all the ceremonyis of the Church of England upone this Church, quhence hes flowed sa money sad inconvenientis as these years past hes producit.

“ 5. King Charles [I.] entering upon the same courss, and procecuting the same desygnes, quhairby, efter many particular offences, it came to be ane arbitrarie and violent obtruding of the Book of Common Prayer and Canones upone the Church.

“ 6. His allying and mareying ane of the Popische religioun, and his tollerating of the Mass, and the exercise of these abhominations, in view of the Lord’s pepell, to the great prejudice of the Reformed religion, and the putting himself and his kingdom both under snaires and wraith.

“ 7. The great profanitie of the Court for many years too much tollerated and countenanced by him in masks and Sabbath breakings; at last publictly avowed by him in many things by the Buik of Sportes.

“ 8. His arbitrarie government quharby many of all classes

¹ There was nothing in the National Covenant (the one here referred to), which forbade James VI. to bring in “ Bishops and other ceremonies.”

hes bene broght to suffering, without proceeding according to the lawis of the kingdome.

“ 9. His establishing the Court of High Commission, and authorising therein many thingis destructive to the liberties of this Kirk and kingdome.

“ 10. His prosecuting by airms, being misled by evill counsell, a war against those quho adhered to the Covenant, and who necessarlie and lauchtfullie withstood the inbring-ing of corruptiones into this Church, quairby he maid him-self guiltie of much innocent blood of the Lord's pepill.

“ 11. The present King entering to tread the same steps, *first*, closing a treaty with the Popische Yrishe rebells who had sched so much blood, and granting theme not onlie thaire personall libertie, but also the free exercise of Popische religion, so that he might use them against his Protestant subjects; *secondly*, by his Commissionating that ex-communicated rebell James Grahame agane to invade this kingdome which wes stryving to be faithfull to the cause, and to give commissions to sundry by sea for that end; and, *thirdly*, by his refusing, for a tyme, the just satisfactione that was desyred by this Kirk and kingdome.

“ 12. His entertanying private correspondentis with malignants and enemys to the cause, contrarie to the Covenant, quhairby he wes at last drawn to ane publict and scandalous deserting of the publict judicatories of this kingdome, so contrarie to his oath, treatie, declaration, and profession, quhairupon followed many offences; and to joyne with malignants and perverse men quho were, by his warrand, encouraged to take airms at such a tyme, to the hazarding of the cause, and fostering jealousie, and disturbing the piece of the kingdome.

“ These things being sensiblie layet out before the Lord, he is, by ardent prayers, to be entreated to do away with the contraversie he hes againes the King and his House for these transgressions, and that he may be gratuslie pleased to bless the Kingis person and government.”

Such were the strange “ causes of the solemn fast,” held on the very day after Christmas day 1650; on which I need offer no comment, farther than that we may easily

imagine how poor Charles would feel when, instead of spending his Christmas as he had been used to do, he was doomed to listen to a long sermon, or perhaps a series of them, in which his own supposed sins and those of his forefathers were impudently cast in his teeth by men whose own faults were immeasurably greater than theirs.

This document proves how little the King had gained by concession, and by repeatedly signing documents which he abhorred, and by making professions in accordance with the Covenanters' utmost wishes. These men had in a manner forced him to sacrifice both conscience and consistency in order to gratify them, and still they were dissatisfied ! They probably felt that, owing to all their favourite schemes being uniformly thwarted, the frowning dispensations of Providence, and the misgiving of their own minds, they had got into a false and fatal position ; but unhappily, instead of seeing and turning from the error of their ways, they did what too many do under like circumstances, only pursued the same ways with renewed eagerness, till they no longer had the power, or even the desire, to extricate themselves ; and thus were left to suffer that severest of all earthly punishments, to "eat the fruit of their own ways, and be filled with their own devices."

I will now close the transactions of this year with the words of the same Diarist from whom I have quoted the foregoing document :—"So to end this year of God 1650 ; this kingdom was for the most part spoiled and overrun with the enemy, even from Berwick to the town of Ayr ; there being English garrisons in all quarters of these bounds, the land mourning, languishing, and fading, and left desolate ; every part thereof shut up ; and no safe going out nor coming in. And many treacherous dealers did deal very treacherously ; the Lord hiding his face all this time for the sins of Scotland."

I shall only farther observe, that Mr Blair was at this time at Perth, acting as chaplain to the King, and endeavouring to reconcile the Ultra-Covenanters to the new measures. "He abode at Perth," says his biographer, Mr Row, "attending the King and his family, so long as his

health continued ; but, he falling unwell, left Perth, and came home to St Andrews some few days before the Coronation."

Cromwell was in Edinburgh on the 28th December, as appears from a letter of his to the Speaker on some ordinary business.¹

As I stated before, the Coronation of the King had been fixed to take place at Scone on the 1st January 1651, and this ceremony was accordingly carried into effect on the day appointed.

Scone, before the Reformation, had been an Augustinian Monastery, in the chapel of which, the Kings of Scotland had been crowned from the time of Malcolm III. (traditionally, indeed, from a much earlier period), on a stone placed in a chair, which had been long religiously preserved for the purpose ; and, moreover, part of the monastic buildings had been set aside as a royal residence. But at the Reformation, a lawless mob, under the influence of John Knox, had destroyed both the monastery and its church. At the time under our review, a mansion-house had been erected on the site by Lord Scone, who had had the monastic lands sacrilegiously erected into a temporal lordship in his favour by James VI. ; and this house was still styled a " palace," from its being built very near the spot where the royal residence had stood. Charles's usual abode, while in Perth, was Gowrie House ; but on this occasion, for the greater convenience of the ceremonial, he took up his temporary abode at the palace ; and on his way thither, was accompanied by his body-guard and the chief of the Scottish nobility, with much pomp and show, and display of banners, riding in procession between two lines of soldiers, which extended the whole distance from Perth to the village of Scone.

¹ Cary's Memorials, i. p. 243.

A parish church had been built, not many years before this time, within a short distance of where the old abbey had stood, and in this Charles was crowned ; but the church has now ceased to exist, with the sole exception of a ruined aisle, which is preserved as a burying-ground for the noble family of Mansfield, the heirs of Lord Scone, though not in a direct line, and the inheritors of the property.

The following account of the Coronation is borrowed from a contemporary work.—All I have done is to omit some unimportant details, and to make a few passing observations ; but I have made no alterations except in the insertion of a few commas, and the spelling of some of the words.

“ First, the King’s Majesty, in a prince’s robe, was conducted from his bed-chamber, in the Palace of Scone, by the Constable on his right hand, and the Marischall on his left, to the chamber of presence ; and there, was placed in a choir under a Cloth of State, by the Lord of Angus, the chamberlain appointed by the King for that day ; and there, after a little repose, the noblemen, with the Commissioners of Barons and Burghs, entered the hall and presented themselves before his Majesty.

“ Thereafter, the Lord Chamberlain spoke to the King to this purpose—‘ Sir, Your good subjects desire you may be crowned as the righteous and lawful heir of the Crown of this Kingdom ; that you would maintain religion as it is presently professed and established, conform to the National Covenant, and Solemn League and Covenant, according to your declaration at Dunfermline, in August last ; also that you would be graciously pleased to receive them under your Highness’ protection ; to govern them by the laws of the kingdom, and to defend them in their rights and liberties by your royal power, offering themselves in a most humble manner to your Majesty, with their vows, to bestow land, life, and what else is in their power, for the maintenance of religion, for the safety of your Majesty’s sacred person, and maintenance of your Crown, which they entreat your Majesty to accept, and pray Almighty God that for many years you may happily enjoy the same.’ ”

“ The King made this answer—‘ I do esteem the affec-

tion of my good people more than the crowns of many kingdoms, and shall be ready, by God's assistance, to bestow my life in their defence, wishing to live no longer than I may see Religion and this Kingdom flourish in all happiness.' "

" Thereafter, the Commissioners of Boroughs and of Barons and the Noblemen accompanied his Majesty to the Kirk of Scone, in order and rank according to their quality, two and two ;—

" The Spurs were carried by the Earl of Eglinton.

" Next, the Sword by the Earl of Rothes.

" Then the Sceptre by the Earl of Crawford and Lindsay.

" And the Crown by the Marquis of Argyll, immediately before the King.

" Then came the King, with the great Constable on his right hand, and the great Marischall on his left, his train being carried by the Lord Erskine, the Lord Montgomery, the Lord Newbottle, and the Lord Mackline, four Earl's eldest sons, under a canopy of crimson velvet, supported by six Earl's sons, to-wit, the Lord Drummond, the Lord Carnegie, the Lord Ramsay, the Lord Johnstone, the Lord Brechin, the Lord Yester ; and the six carriers supported by six noblemen's sons.

" Thus the King's Majesty entered the Kirk.

" The kirk being fitted and prepared with a table whereupon the honours were laid, and the chair set in a fitting place for his Majesty's hearing of the sermon over against the minister, and another chair on the other side where he sat when he received the Crown ; before which, there was a bench decently covered, as also seats about for Noblemen, Barons, and Burgesses.

" And there being also a stage in a fit place erected of 14 foot square, about 4 foot high, from the ground, covered with carpets, with two stairs, one from the west, and another to the east ; upon which great stage, there was another little stage erected, some two foot high, ascending by two steps, on which the throne or chair of State was set.

" The kirk thus fittingly prepared, the King's Majesty entereth the same, accompanied as aforesaid, and first set

himself in his chair for hearing of the sermon ; and all being quietly composed into attention, Master Robert Douglas, Moderator of the Commission of the General Assembly, after calling upon God by prayer, preached the Coronation Sermon."

I think it useless to give this discourse, as it is very long, and not very edifying. Douglas was reckoned one of the most moderate of the Presbyterians ; and yet, when alluding to the ancient and significant ceremony of anointing kings with oil at their coronation, he brings in the following sentence regarding Episcopacy, which had, twelve years before, been disestablished and overthrown :—" There are here who were witnesses of the Coronation of the late King.¹ The Bishops behoved to perform that rite ; but now, *by the blessing of God*, popery and *prelacy* are removed. The Bishops, or *limbs of Antichrist*, are put to the door. Let the anointing of kings with oil go to the door with them, and let them never come in again." Considering the distracted state of Scotland at this time, and ever since prelacy had been " put to the door," there seemed little reason to thank God for the change ; but as to the innocent oil, it is difficult to discover more superstition in that, than in the spurs, sword, crown, and sceptre, used on this very occasion ; each of which was an emblem of some moral virtue, or religious truth. Not only so, but the preacher had chosen for the subject of his sermon the very suitable text in 2 Kings xi. 12 ;—" And he (Jehoiada the *priest*) brought forth the king's son, and put the crown upon him, and gave him the testimony ; and they made him king, and *anointed him*." Here, then, is divine authority for the use of oil in the coronation of kings, and for their being crowned by an ecclesiastic ; and yet, such was the disposition of the ministers of that period to do things by the rule of contraries, that they openly denounced the ceremony of anointing, and nominated a lay Peer to place the crown upon the King's head !

¹ Charles I. in 1633. Calderwood, speaking of the Coronation of the infant James VI., says, " About the anointing there was a sharp dispute ; but in the end, he was anointed, notwithstanding Mr Knox and other preachers *repined at this Jewish ceremony*." The Scottish Reformers took just as much out of the Old Testament as suited their purpose, and omitted the rest.

Let one more extract from the sermon suffice :—" There are many sins upon our King and his family. Sin will make the surest crown that ever men set on to totter. The sins of former kings had made this crown to totter. I shall not insist here [on this], seeing there hath been a solemn day of humiliation through the land, on Thursday last, for the sins of the royal family. I wish the Lord may bless it ; and desire the King may be truly humbled for *his own sins, and the sins of his father's house*, which have been great." Even this otherwise prudent and sensible man could not avoid harping on this discordant string, in the King's own presence, on the day of his coronation !

" Sermon being ended, prayer was made for a blessing upon the doctrine delivered.

" The King being to renew the Covenants, first the National Covenant, then the Solemn League and Covenant, were distinctly read.

" After the reading of these Covenants, the minister prayed for grace to perform the contents of the Covenants, and for faithful steadfastness in the oath of God ; and then (the ministers Commissioners of the General Assembly being present, standing before the pulpit), he ministered the oath unto the King ; who, kneeling and lifting up his right hand, did swear in the words following :—

" I Charles, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, do assure and declare, by my solemn oath, in the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of hearts, my allowance and approbation of the National Covenant, and of the Solemn League and Covenant above written, and faithfully oblige myself to prosecute the ends thereof in my station and calling ; and that I, for myself *and successors*, shall consent to and agree to all acts of Parliament enjoining the National Covenant, and the Solemn League and Covenant, and fully establishing Presbyterial government, the Directory of Worship, Confession of Faith, and Catechisms, in the kingdom of Scotland, as they are approved by the General Assemblies of this Kirk, and Parliament of this kingdom ; and that I shall give my royal assent to all acts and ordinances of Parliament passed, or to be passed, enjoining the same

in my other dominions; and that I shall observe these in mine own practice and family, and shall never make opposition to any of these, or endeavour any change thereof."

"After the King had thus solemnly sworn the National Covenant, the League and Covenant, and the King's oath subjoined unto both, being drawn up on a fair parchment, the King did inscribe the same in presence of all.

"Thereafter, the King ascendeth the stage, and sitteth down in the Chair of State. Then the Lords, Great Constable, and Marischall, went to the four corners of the stage, with the Lyon-King-at-Arms going before them, who spoke to the people these words:—'Sirs, I do present unto you the King, Charles, the rightful and undoubted heir of the Crown and dignity of this realm. This day is, by the Parliament of this kingdom, appointed for his Coronation; and are you willing to have him for your King, and become subject to his commandments?'

"In which action, the King's Majesty stood up, shewing himself to the people, in each corner; and the people expressed their willingness by cheerful acclamations, in these words—'God save the King, Charles the Second.'

"Thereafter the King's Majesty, supported by the Constable and Marischall, cometh down from the stage, and sitteth down on a chair, where he heard the sermon. The minister, accompanied by the ministers before mentioned, cometh from the pulpit toward the King, and requireth if he was willing to take the oath appointed to be taken at the Coronation.

"The King answered, he was most willing.

"Then the oath of Coronation, as it is contained in the eighth act of the first Parliament of King James (VI.) being read by the Lyon-King-at-Arms, the tenor whereof followeth:—

I need not quote the words of this oath, but observe only, that it contains the clause, that the King was to be "careful to root out of his land and empire, all heretics and enemies to the true worship of God, that should be *convicted by the true Kirk of God* of the foresaid crimes."

"The minister then tendered the oath unto the King, who,

kneeling and holding up his right hand, sware in these words, ‘ By the eternal and Almighty God, who liveth and reigneth for ever, I shall observe and keep all that is contained in this oath.’

On this oath I cannot avoid remarking, *first*, that the meaning of the words, “ the true kirk of God,” had greatly changed since the time of James VI., when the oath was framed; for, the Knoxian, or Superintendent system, was then “ the true Kirk of God ;” next, it became the Episcopal Church; and accordingly, Charles I. took the very same oath at his coronation in 1633, when all were Episcopalians; and *now*, it was the Presbyterian or Covenanting Kirk,—to so many fluctuations had religion in Scotland been subject since the Reformation! *Secondly*, “ Heretics,” in the time of James VI., meant exclusively Romanists; but *now*, Prelatists, Malignants, and sectaries of all kinds, were included, all indeed but Presbyterians. *Thirdly*, If Charles II. were allowed to put his own construction on his oath, “ to root out all heretics,” he might justify his persecution of the Covenanters after his Restoration, whom he no doubt thought he had good reason to consider as the worst kind of heretics.

“ This done, the King’s Majesty sitteth in his chair and reposeth himself a little.

“ Then the King ariseth from his chair, and is disrobed by the Lord Great Chamberlain, of the princely robe, wherewith he entered the kirk, and is invested by the said Chamberlain in his royal robes.

“ Thereafter, the King being brought to the chair on the north side of the Kirk, supported as formerly, the sword was brought by Sir William Cockburn of Langtown, gentleman usher, from the table, and delivered to the Lyon-King-at-arms, who giveth it to the Lord Great Constable, who putteth the same in the King’s hand, saying, Sir, receive this kingly sword, for the defence of the faith of Christ, and protection of his Kirk, and of the true religion as it is presently professed within this kingdom, and according to the National Covenant and League and Covenant, and for executing equity and justice, and for punishment of all iniquity and injustice.

“ This done, the Great Constable receiveth the sword from the King, and girdeth the same about his side.

“ Thereafter the King sitteth down in his chair ; and then the spurs were put on him by the Earl Marischall.

“ Thereafter, Archibald, Marquis of Argyll, having taken the Crown in his hands, the minister prayed to this purpose : ‘ That the Lord would purge the Crown from the sins and transgressions *of them that did reign before him* ; That it might be a pure Crown ; that God would settle the Crown upon the King’s head ; and, since men that set it on were not able to settle it, that the Lord would put it on and preserve it.’ And then the said Marquis put the Crown on the King’s head.

“ Which done, the Lyon-King-at-arms, the Great Constable standing by him, causeth an herald to call the whole noblemen, one by one, according to their ranks ; who, coming before the King, kneeling, and with their hands touching the Crown on the King’s head, swore these words : ‘ By the eternal and Almighty God who liveth and reigneth for ever, I shall support thee to my uttermost.’ And when they had done, then all the nobility held up their hands, and swore to be loyal and true subjects, and faithful to the Crown. The Earl Marischall, with the Lyon-King-at-arms, going to the four corners of the stage, the Lyon proclaimeth the obligatory oath of the people ; and the people holding up their hands all the time, did swear by the eternal and Almighty God who liveth and reigneth for ever, ‘ We become your liege men, and truth and faith shall bear unto you, and live and die with you against all manner of falsehood whatsoever, in your service, according to the National Covenant and Solemn League and Covenant.’ Then did the Earls and Viscounts put on their gowns, and the Lyon likewise put on his. Then did the Lord Chamberlain loose the Sword wherewith the King was girded, and drew it, and delivered it drawn into the King’s hands, and the King put it in the hands of the Great Constable, to carry it naked before him.

“ Then John, Earl of Crawford and Lindsay, took the sceptre and put it in the King’s right hand, saying, ‘ Sir, re-

ceive this sceptre, the sign of royal power of the kingdom, that you may govern yourself right, and defend all the Christian people committed by God to your charge, punishing the wicked and protecting the just.'

"Then did the King ascend the stage, attended by the officers of the Crown, and nobility, and was installed in the Royal throne by Archibald, Marquis of Argyle, saying: 'Stand, and hold fast from henceforth the place whereof you are the lawful and righteous heir, by a long and lineal succession of your fathers, which is now delivered unto you, by authority of Almighty God.'

"When the King was set down upon the throne, the minister spoke to him a word of exhortation as followeth: 'Sir, you are set down upon the throne,' &c., the purport being, that if the King kept the Covenants, his throne should be established in righteousness; but, if otherwise, it would be overturned.

"Then the Lord Chancellor went to the four corners of the stage, the Lyon-King-at-arms going before him, and proclaimed his Majesty's free pardon to all breakers of penal statutes, and made offer thereof; whereupon the people cried, 'God save the King!'

"Then the King, supported by the great Constable and Marischall, and accompanied by the Chancellor, arose from the throne and went out at a door, prepared for the purpose, to a stage, and sheweth himself to the people without, who clapped their hands, and cried with a loud voice, a long time, 'God save the King!'

"Then the King returning, and sitting down upon the throne, delivered the sceptre to the Earl of Crawford and Lindsay to be carried before him; thereafter the Lyon King-at-arms rehearsed the royal line of the kings upward to Fergus the First.

"Then the Lyon called the lords one by one, who, kneeling and holding their hands betwixt the King's hands, did swear these words, 'By the eternal and Almighty God, who liveth and reigneth for ever, I do become your liegeman, and truth and faith shall bear unto you, and live and

die with you, against all manner of folks whatsoever in your service, according to the National Covenant, and Solemn League and Covenant.'

"And every one of them kissed the King's left cheek.

"When these solemnities were ended, the minister, standing before the King on his throne, pronounced the blessing.

" 'The Lord bless thee, and save thee; the Lord hear thee in the day of trouble; the name of the God of Jacob defend thee; the Lord send thee help from his sanctuary, and strengthen thee out of Zion. Amen.'

"After the blessing was pronounced, the minister went to the pulpit, and had the following exhortation, the King sitting still upon the throne:—'Ye have this day a King crowned, and entered into covenant with God and his people. Look, both King and people, that ye keep this Covenant, and beware of the breach of it; and that ye may be the more careful to keep it, I will lay a few things before you.'

The purport of these "few things" was to shew that God would be avenged on every one who should break the Solemn League and Covenant; comparing this merely human bond, framed for factious and temporary purposes, with the everlasting Covenants of the Old Testament, which God entered into with the Jews for the observance of the laws which he had himself given them!

"Then did the King's Majesty descend from the stage with the crown on his head, and receiving again the sceptre in his hand, returned with the whole train in solemn manner to his palace, the sword being carried before him."

Baillie, who was present at the ceremony, writes thus concerning it: "This day we have done what I earnestly desired, and long expected, crowned our noble King with all solemnity at Scone, so peacefully and magnificently as if no enemy had been among us. This is of God; for it was Cromwell's purpose, which I thought he might easily have performed, to have marred by arms that action, at least the solemnity of it. The Protesters by all their power would have opposed it; others prolonged it so long as they

were able ; always blessed be God, it is this day celebrate with great joy and contentment to all honest hearted men here. Mr Douglas, from 2d Kings xi., Joash's coronation, had a very pertinent, wise, and good sermon. The King swore the Covenant, the League and Covenant, and the coronation oath. When Argyle put on the crown Mr Robert Douglas prayed well. When the Chancellor set him on the throne he exhorted well. When all was ended, he, with great earnestness, pressed sincerity and constancy in the Covenant on the King, dilating at length King James' breach of the Covenant, *pursued yet against the family*. From Neh. v., 13, God's casting the king out of his lap ; and the xxxivth Jer., many plagues on him, if he do not sincerely keep the oaths now taken. He closed up all with a prayer, and the xxth Psalm."

A Scottish modern writer, of the Covenanting school, whose book is now before me, makes the following remark on the Coronation of Charles II. : " Perhaps our venerable ancestors are, on few points, more vulnerable than in this matter of administering so many solemn oaths to one whose whole conduct afforded so little evidence of sincerity in swearing them. But it must be admitted, that many of the ministers contemplated the matter with horror ; and that the good men who took a part in it, did so, clinging to a hope that Charles would never surely abandon a cause he had so solemnly espoused." The truth is, Charles was compelled to " espouse" a wife, so to speak, whose person, manner, and dispositions, were odious to him ; and to whom no efforts of his could ever have reconciled him, though he put on the semblance of an affection for her. He was so situated that he must either act the hypocrite, or make no attempt for the recovery of his crown. Of course, a truly upright man would have preferred the latter alternative. But who was the cause of his being put into this anomalous condition ? Undoubtedly the Covenanters were chiefly to blame for it ; because they forced him to sign a Covenant which had no precedent in any part of Christendom ; which prevailed even in Scotland only for

a few years, and was then abjured for ever; and, which Charles himself was obliged, after his restoration, solemnly to contradict by his English coronation oath,—an oath which had been taken by his ancestors for many centuries, and which pledged him to uphold the very prelacy which in Scotland he had been made repeatedly to denounce! His Scottish supporters boasted that he was “the only Covenanted King in the world,”—the very singularity which should have led them to doubt the truth of their position, since that never can be true in Christianity which is local and temporary. We must adhere to that which has prevailed “always and everywhere,” in preference to that which is comparatively of yesterday. It is impossible that any system of Christianity, which is limited to a small corner of the world, and to a small corner of modern times, should be any part of that “Holy Catholic Church” which was founded by the Apostles, and from which it was promised that the Divine Presence was never to be withdrawn. The Covenant, therefore, being a local and temporary obligation, for that reason alone could not be identified with Christianity; and hence, if Charles II. did wrong in taking it, and even in breaking it, the Presbyterian ministers did worse in imposing it; because, from their profession and experience, they ought to have known better. And, let me add, that the repeated falsehoods which the King was in a manner taught and even compelled to utter, accompanied as they were with solemn appeals to heaven for their truth, could not fail to harden his heart, and pave the way for the mischiefs and misdoings of his after life. It is, indeed, difficult to avoid moralizing, on comparing the Coronation of Charles at Scone in 1650, with that at London in 1661. Argyll, who *now* put the crown on his head, *then* executed. General Monk, who was *now* warring against, and seeking the life of “Charles Stewart,” *then* the most conspicuous supporter of his throne; and the Solemn League and Covenant, which was *now* all but idolized, *then* burnt by the hands of the common hangman!

The gossiping Wodrow, in his "Analecta," i. 67, gives the following anecdote: "My brother tells me that he *had* this account of the Marquis of Argyll from Mr Hasty, who *had* it from Mr Neill Gillies, who is in the family of Argyll, and *had* it from the Marchioness, that after the King's Coronation, when the Marquis of Argyll was in Stirling, he waited long for an opportunity of dealing freely with him, anent his being contrary to the Covenant, and favouring of Malignants, and other sins. One Sabbath night, after supper, he went into his closet, and there used a great deal of freedom with him; and the King was seemingly sensible, and they came at length *to pray and mourn together till two or three in the morning*; and when he [the Marquis] came home to his lady she was surprised, and told him she never knew him so untimeous. He said he had never had such a *sweet night* in the world; and told her what liberty they had in prayer, and how much convinced the King now was. She said plainly they were crocodile tears, and that that night would cost him his head, which came to pass." Perhaps I do wrong to quote a passage which carries so much absurdity on its face. But it is extremely characteristic of Wodrow, particularly that part of it which makes the story pass through so many hands before it reaches him; and the discovery also that an event had been foretold long *after* the event came to pass.

Nicoll informs us, that Cromwell, "not being well content with the King's Coronation, used all means to get him cut off, as was evidenced by an Englishman, called Moss, who, being sent out to poison the King, was taken at St Johnston [Perth], cast into prison, and, upon his own confession, condemned to die; but, by the means of the Earl of Lothian, his execution was still delayed; and, in the end, he was relieved from prison when Cromwell came to Fife, and took Perth." He farther informs us, that the Sectarian army wanted not those among the Scots who, by means of bribery, gave them secret intelligence of all that passed north of the Forth. Some of the traitors were discovered and punished. One Mein, the son of a merchant in Edinburgh, was appre-

hended "for a spy and giver of intelligence to Cromwell, which he confessed under his hand;" and all the baillies of Burntisland were for a long time confined to prison, on suspicion of endeavouring to betray their peninsula to the enemy.

It appears from the *Life of Blair*,¹ that the Presbytery of Stirling, which was under the influence of James Guthrie and David Bennet, was very violent in its opposition to the law recently passed admitting Malignants into the army; and went so far as to pass a "Remonstrance against the present conjuration with the Malignant party." A copy of this they had sent to Cromwell, which evinced their leanings to that enemy of their King and country. This copy Cromwell thought fit to print, and disperse both among the Scots and English; thinking it might act as a firebrand, and so serve his purposes. The Commission of the Assembly met at Perth, immediately after the Coronation, under the moderatorship of James Wood; and their first work was to take into consideration the above Remonstrance, to which they framed a reply, and sent copies of it to all the presbyteries in Scotland.

On the 7th of the month, the same Commission issued what they call a solemn warning to all the members of the Kirk; with an answer to all such as act or comply with the Sectarian army now infesting this country. In this document they require all persons "not only not to speak favourably of the enemy, but to obey the just commands of the civil magistrates in defence of our religion, king, and country, against those who have destroyed whatever was pious and honest in their own country, and intend no less in this, if the Lord prevent it not, by stirring up all good and godly men against them." They also subjoined some hints to the ruling authorities, as to the inactivity of the army; and the cowardice or treachery whereby Edinburgh Castle, and certain other strongholds, had recently been surrendered to the enemy. For this seasonable warning the Lord Chancellor was desired by the King and Committee of Estates to render due thanks to the Commission.

¹ *Life of Blair*, by Row (Wodrow Society Edition), p. 256.

The next meeting of the Commission was at St Andrews, in the middle of the month, where a conference was held between the leading ministers of the two parties, namely, James Wood, Robert Blair, Robert Douglas, and James Sharpe,¹ on the one side, and James Guthrie, David Bennet, and Samuel Rutherford, on the other. But it ended, like most disputes, in the parties leaving off where they began.² The moderate brethren, finding they could make no impression on Guthrie or his colleague, proposed to them that they should give up preaching for a time in Stirling, and offered to supply their places with ministers better affected to the Government; as it was thought most desirable that, in a garrison town, which was the head-quarters of the army, nothing ought to be promulgated from the pulpit hostile to the existing laws. But this reasonable proposal the two refractory ministers would by no means agree to, but still determined to use every means to strengthen their party, and spread their opinions. Nor was any thing farther done for the present to check them, except sending one or two of the moderate ministers for the purpose of preaching to the troops in the garrison. The Duke of Hamilton, who had hitherto been living in retirement in the Isle of Arran, applied to this Commission to be reconciled to the Kirk, on making his due penitence, but, owing to the opposition of Guthrie's party, his case was deferred.

At the close of this Commission at St Andrews, the brethren drew and sent up a remonstrance to the Government, complaining of some defects in their administration; particularly, that so little progress had been made in raising the levies, and that some inferior officers had been employed in the army who had not satisfied the Kirk. The Government replied that they would do their best to remedy these

¹ This was the future celebrated Archbishop of St Andrews; and all I shall remark here is, that, having been all along a zealous adherent of the Resolution or Moderate party, he was deputed by *them* to the Court of Charles II., at the time of the Restoration, and *not* by the Presbyterians at large, as has been artfully represented by the enemies of his memory. Never was the truth of the proverb, "give a dog an ill name and hang him," so remarkably exemplified as in the case of Archbishop Sharp.

² Blair's Life, p. 257.

inconveniences ; but they complained in *their* turn, that the opposition of some of the ministers to the existing laws was a great hindrance to the public welfare.

On the 12th January, General Middleton, the late Commander of the Highland army, on whom sentence of excommunication had been pronounced by James Guthrie, was released from his excommunication by the Rev. Mr Robertson, "and did his penance in sackcloth in Dundee Church ;" while Colonel Strachan, the leader of the Westland army, who had gone over to Cromwell, was on the same day "excommunicate, and delivered to the Devil in the Church of Perth, by Mr Alexander Rollock." Some other "compliers with sectaries," as they were designated, were soon after treated in the same manner, particularly, Walter Dundas, younger of Dundas, the late Governor of Edinburgh Castle, and his Lieutenant, Andrew Abernethie, Sir John Swinton of Swinton, Major Johnston, Lieutenant William Govan, and others, who were all found guilty of favouring the English and sectarianism. They were even declared guilty of "treason, and forfeiture of life, lands, honour, and goods." So much had the tide by this time turned in favour of the King, that Alexander Hope, and Sir John his brother, and another brother (Lord Craighalls, a Lord of Session) were arrested, tried, and confined to their residences in the country, for simply proposing that the King should give up his pretensions to the Crown of England, and that part of Scotland which was then in the hands of Cromwell, and content himself with the remainder.¹

The following letter, written by one of the King's suite, from Perth, on the 20th January (and enclosed by Sir E. Nicholas to the Marquis of Ormond), alludes to the foregoing fact, and throws some new light on what was passing there at that time :² "All things now go on very cordially and unanimously for His Majesty's interest ; so that within a month, we doubt not but once more to have 20,000 men in the field, and those, of other manner of spirits and loyalty than the last army which was overthrown. All, without exception, are to bring what they can into the field.

¹ Balfour's Annals, iv. p. 240-246.

² From the Carte Collections.

The Marquis of Huntly's and Middleton's excommunications are taken up, and they are admitted to command. The Kirk, *who govern all*, are now as violent for the King and his interest as ever they were against both, they having excommunicated those that are gone in to Cromwell, and have set forth a decree that no man shall presume to pray or preach against the present resolutions and proceedings of his Majesty and the Parliament, under pain of being censured by them; and that there shall be no such word heard more as *Malignant*. Sir Alexander Hope (whom his Majesty, at the solicitation of some of his friends, hath made gentleman usher of his privy chamber, and master-falconer in this country), came within these two days, and made his addresses to the King, to let him know that there were two brothers of his (both Lords of Session), that were much troubled *in conscience* to see him take those ways he now was in; and, perceiving his destruction if he persisted in them, they were restless till they sent his Majesty their humble advice, which was, that he should speedily treat with Cromwell, quit his interest in England and Ireland, give cautionary towns for the performing of the articles, and content himself with this country, till he had a better opportunity to recover the rest. To which his Majesty resolutely and discreetly answered, that *he would see both him and his brothers hanged at one end of a rope, and Cromwell at the other, before he would do any such thing*; and went instantly and complained of it to the Committee of Estates; but what they will do with them is not yet known. By this you may see by what rules we were governed when we first came hither, and with what strange difficulties this poor king hath struggled; but now I hope the worst is past, for so great a change as is now here could never be hoped or expected."

In the foregoing letter, it is stated that the Marquis of Huntly had been released from his excommunication, and admitted to command. The latter part of this statement seems to have been premature; for I find it asserted in a letter of the beginning of March, that "Huntly cannot be admitted to charge at all, though he could do the King better service than any Scotsman." On the 25th of that

month, however, his late father's forfeiture was removed, and he was restored to his proper rank. A letter of April, notwithstanding, says, "Though the Marquis of Huntly be freed of his excommunication, and all other things imposed on him, yet he is not permitted to have any command in the army, which shews the union is not as yet entire among them, but I hope it will be in a little more time." At the end of April, accordingly, he was permitted to command as many men as he could raise, which, it was thought, would be nearly five thousand.¹

From the Carte Collections² it appears, that early in February, strenuous efforts were made to increase and strengthen the royal army; General Middleton was sent into the shires of Moray and Ross, to expedite the levies in those quarters; from which he returned, in three months, with 8000 foot and 2000 horse. Sixteen good leather guns were in readiness. The Earl of Athol had a regiment of 1000 "as good foot as any in the world." The Earls of Crawford and Kelly had each a regiment of 1500 men, all of them raised in Fife. General Massey had 800 horse, consisting chiefly of English and other strangers or foreigners. The rest of the Scots nobility were busy in organising and bringing up their men; so that, when they all came forward, it was expected there would be at least 25,000; while "there were coming over from Cromwell daily both horse and foot, by ten in a company, and many inferior officers with them."

In a letter of the 12th February, Sir E. Nicholas thus writes to the Marquis of Ormond, who had left Ireland, and gone to Paris: "I am willing to hope the condition of the King's affairs in Scotland is better than it was, by the present conjunction of the people there; which doubtless gives, in foreign parts, a better reputation to his Majesty's business than it had of late. But when I call to mind what Egyptian reeds the Scots have proved to his Majesty and his father, wheresoever they have been leaned on, *and what irreconcilable feud there is between Hamilton and Argyle*, and what cause the latter hath to be jealous of the other's

¹ Carte Collections, i. p. 609.

² Ibid, pp. 446, 453, 454.

getting into power in court or camp, I must confess I very much apprehend that there will be some treachery played the King, which will be now no difficult matter to effect, so many of his faithful subjects being removed from him, and all that for the most part attend him being either creatures of Argyle, or at his devotion.”¹

I can find no detailed account of this feud between Hamilton and Argyll, but only several accidental allusions to it. It is easy to conceive that men of such opposite political and religious opinions would be at variance; while their high rank, and their desire to acquire influence over the King, would naturally bring them into frequent collision. The various letters in the “*Carte Collections*,” written in the spring of this year, speak of the *fact* of the feud between these rival chieftains; and I am the less scrupulous about giving extracts from these letters, relative to this and other points, because, as far as I know, they have hitherto been unaccountably overlooked by the historians of this period, notwithstanding that they throw light on many very interesting particulars. One of them, written in February, says, “Marquis Argyll will not permit Duke Hamilton to have any power or command at all, but hath a principal care to keep him under, so as his Grace meddles with nothing; but having done his penance, he is absolved and sits still.” Another, of a later date, from Sir E. Nicholas, has those words:—“I perceive those with the King fear nothing so much as treachery among the Scots. The feud between the two great Lords, Hamilton and Argyll, is still as high as ever. I wish they, and all others with them, that will not heartily unite against such tried rebels (meaning the English), were beyond the farthest Indies. It’s written to me that the Duke of Buckingham is wholly Argyll’s, for which I am very sorry. All letters affirm that the King is very intelligent, industrious, and active in all his affairs, as well in the Council as in the camp; and but too forward on all occasions to hazard his person against the rebels.” Another letter, of a later date, from the same personage, says,—“The letter from Scot-

¹ *Carte Collections*, i. p. 403.

land speaks Argyll to be much suspected by the people, as well as by the honester persons of quality; but that may be the report only fancied by him who wrote, he being an affectionate person to Duke Hamilton's party." Lastly, the Marquis of Ormond thus writes from Paris:—"I am little knowing in Scottish intrigues; but by what hath been publicly acted there, I should judge, that the declining of my Lord Argyll's greatness, but more especially of his reputation with the people, is the thing of that nature most to be wished, though I guess it may be otherwise thought of at the Louvre. And seeing there is no present probability that the principal power in that kingdom can fall into the hands of any that are absolutely unblemished, I know not where it is more to be wished than in Duke Hamilton."¹

These are the statements and sentiments of men who, from their position, had the best means of information, and who, from their known prudence and ability, were well fitted to take a judicious view of what was then going on in Scotland.

About this time Sir Richard Fanshawe, who had been the King's secretary some years before, went to him by command from Holland, and remained with him till he was made prisoner at the battle of Worcester. His lady, in her "Memoirs," says that the King received him with great kindness; and that the Presbyterians several times pressed him to take the Covenant, but that he never would consent.

I have already mentioned that certain ministers of the Kirk had raised a keen opposition to the admission of "malignants" and "engagers" into the Presbyterian army. The Presbyteries of Stirling and Aberdeen, in which there was a majority of those Ultra-Covenanters, sent letters of remonstrance on this subject to the Commission of the Assembly; and, at the same time, the individual ministers of those presbyteries, as well as others who agreed with them, began to inveigh from their pulpits against the conduct of their civil and ecclesiastical rulers. They had no notion of submitting to a law while it remained such; but

¹ Carte Collections, i. p. 13; ii. pp. 409, 464, 471.

when they found they could not get it changed, they used all their endeavours to render it ineffectual. Guthrie and Bennet, in particular, as we have seen, made themselves very conspicuous, by the strong and inflammatory terms in which they impugned this measure of government, and those who had enacted it; so much so, that it was thought unsafe to allow them to proceed longer in their course unchecked. The Chancellor therefore wrote a letter to them on the 14th of this month, in which, after alluding to their fault in preaching against and opposing the public resolutions of the Church and State, and thereby obstructing the levies, and endangering the safety of the country, he summoned them, in the name of the King and the Estates, to repair to Perth on the 19th, and there remain till his Majesty's return from Aberdeen (to which place he was soon to go), after which, a full enquiry should be made into their alleged misconduct. These reverend gentlemen, instead of obeying this summons, sent their excuse on the 19th, and appealed to the General Assembly, as the only court competent to investigate their case. Upon this, the Chancellor wrote a second letter, ordering them to make their appearance without farther delay. They went to Perth accordingly, where, on the 22d, they gave in "a protestation," to the effect that their appearing before the King and Committee was not to be taken as an acknowledgement of these being the proper judges of things ministerial, which could only be determined by the kirk judicatories; and that they were persuaded that the late decision for admitting malignants into the army, was "contrary to the word of God, to the League and Covenant, and to their solemn engagement; and to the constant tenor of the declarations, remonstrances, warnings, causes of humiliation, and other resolutions of the Kirk, those years past; and destructive to the Covenant and cause of God, scandalous and offensive to the godly, and highly provoking to the eyes of the Lord's glory." These agitators, in penning this remonstrance, seem to have shut their eyes to three important facts; *first*, that there would be an end of all government, if preachers had an unlimited license to rail from their pulpits against

the existing laws and legislators of the country ; because, on this plea, they might give utterance to libel, defamation, or even high treason, with impunity ; *secondly*, a very large majority of those very kirk judicatories, which Guthrie and Bennet themselves professed to recognise, had already condemned them ; and, *thirdly*, their own Westminster Confession of Faith (which they could quote when it suited their purpose, and which they had compelled the King to subscribe against his own convictions), has these words :— “ The Civil Magistrate hath authority, and it is his duty, to take order, that unity and peace be preserved in the Church, that the truth of God be kept pure and entire, that all blasphemies and heresies be suppressed, all corruptions and abuses in worship and discipline prevented or reformed, and all the ordinances of God duly settled, administered, and observed. For the better effecting whereof, he hath power to *call synods, to be present at them, and to provide that whatsoever is transacted in them be according to the mind of God.*” Now, since their own acknowledged standards had conferred so much spiritual power upon the Civil Magistrate, as to qualify him to determine what was “ the mind of God ” (and who was this civil magistrate if the King was not ?) the Presbyterian ministers could have no just ground to complain of his exercise of it. Nay, we may go a step farther, and say, that they had no just ground of complaint if, at the Restoration, the same authority should have set aside Presbyterianism in favour of Episcopacy, the latter of which, there can be no doubt, the King believed to be in accordance with “ the mind of God.”

The King and Estates might have alleged all this against Guthrie and Bennet, but, wishing to deal leniently with them, they referred the matter to the Commission of the Assembly ; and this body passed an act, wherein they state, that as the terms in which Messrs Guthrie and Bennet had condemned the Government were of the most unqualified kind, and as they justified themselves in so doing, so it was the Commission’s duty to declare that the Church of Scotland, both in her first and second reformation, had expressly stated, that the “ Civil Magistrate has power and authority,

and is obliged, in his civil and coercive way, to censure and punish idolatry, schism, unsound doctrine, ministers' neglect or perverseness in doing their ministerial duties and functions. And if he may and ought to censure and punish these things, may he not cite ministers to compeer before him, upon an narrative relating to things of that kind, without encroaching or wronging the liberties and privileges of the Kirk?"¹

When the King returned from Aberdeen in the following month, he and the Estates liberated the two ministers in question, and gave them leave to return to Stirling; "they having promised to the Commissioners that they should be content not to preach in Stirling, but that the ministers appointed by the Commission should preach both to the town and garrison;" which promise, however, it seems, "was not well kept."²

Baillie, in his letters written at this time, thus speaks of the factious conduct of some of the ministers: "Mr James Guthrie and Patrick Gillespie are going on with their work to destroy our state, and rend our Kirk, but we hope it shall not be in their power." And again, "but Mr Patrick and two or three others, by their cunning and extreme diligence, are like to involve the body of the ministers, and by little time, the people, into a remediless dissatisfaction." And in another letter, of nearly the same date, he says (speaking of a meeting of the Presbytery at Glasgow): "We know Mr Patrick, by the multitude of his *yeomen elders*, could carry what he pleased." And farther, at a synodical meeting somewhat later, "we proposed to make Mr J. Ferguson moderator, but they carried Mr Mowat; and by this I perceived clearly they had gotten so many *silly yeomen* presently chosen for their purpose, that they could carry in the synod whatever they pleased." It affords a curious picture of those kirk courts that the parochial ministers could, in questions purely ecclesiastical, be outvoted by lay-elders!

While the ultra-party were exciting this tumult in the

¹ Balfour's Annals, iv., p. 287. These were surely immense powers for any ecclesiastical body to concede to civil rulers; but having done so, of their own accord, and that only a few years before this, they had no right to blame any but themselves.

² Blair's Life, p. 268.

Kirk, some of the strongholds in the south of Scotland were falling into the hands of the enemy, not from want of courage or skill in their defenders, but from want of means to hold out longer. In the course of February, Hume Castle, commanded by Colonel Cockburn, and Tantallon Castle, governed by Sir James Seaton, were surrendered, the former to Colonel Fenwick, and the latter to Colonel (afterwards General) Monk. The reply of Cockburn to the summons of his English opponent is too characteristic to be omitted: "Right honourable, I have received a trumpeter of yours, as he tells me, without your pass (he forgot it it seems, and left it behind upon the table) to render this castle to the Lord-General Cromwell. Please you, I never saw your General, nor know your General. As for Hume Castle, it stands upon a rock Given at Hume Castle, this day, before seven o'clock. So resteth, without prejudice of his native country, your most humble servant.

"JOHN COCKBURN."

Meanwhile the King, accompanied by the Duke of Hamilton, the Marquis of Argyll, and Lords Lothian, Eglinton, Dunfermline, Lauderdale, Newburgh, &c., made an excursion, chiefly into Fife and Forfarshire, to further the enlistment of the new levies, and to see that every place of strength in these counties was in a proper state of defence. And this they were the better enabled to do, because Cromwell was suffering from a severe attack of ague, which commenced early in February, and lasted, with slight intermissions, till the end of May. The King and his suite began with their inspection of Stirling Castle; from which place they set out on the 12th of February. They first examined the fords and passes higher up the Forth. From thence they came down the north bank of the river to Inch Garvie and Burntisland. They were one night at Wemyss Castle, where the King knighted two gentlemen of the neighbourhood. On the 14th he rode along the coast through Leven, Largo (where, says Balfour, he "ran at the glove"), and Elie, and was all that night at Anstruther House. On the 15th, which was Saturday, he passed through Pittenweem, where he was feasted by the Magistrates (an account of the

feast I will give presently), and then he went to St Andrews to visit his chaplain, Mr Blair, who was lying there in bad health. Mr Blair, says his biographer, “ did then take occasion, as a dying man, to speak to the King freely and fully, giving him his best advice; and withal shewing him what he liked and what he disliked in his father, one of the best of our kings, whom Mr Blair always used to call, ‘ a good king evil used.’ ” If Mr Blair really thought so, why did he assist in the judicial murder (four years before, in this very town of St Andrews), of Sir R. Spottswood and his colleagues, for no other reason than because they had taken up arms in defence of this “ good king evil used?” This deed of deliberate disloyalty and iniquity was enough to efface all the virtue of Blair’s former and future life, unless indeed he had repented of it, which, however, he never appears to have done.¹

The King came to Struthers on the 15th of the month, in the castle of which he was hospitably entertained by the Earl of Crawford till Monday; the ministers of Culross and Ceres preaching before him on the Sunday, in the hall of the castle. They next proceeded to Perth, where he stayed till the 21st. On that day he rode to Dundee, where he knighted several gentlemen, and was entertained by Lord Balcarras. Next day, which was Saturday, he went on to Kinnaird House, and remained there till Monday, after which he proceeded to Dunottar Castle and Aberdeen.

The following is an account of the King’s reception at Pittenweem, as extracted from the council book of that burgh.—

“ Copy of the Act of the Town Council of Pittenweem anent King Charles the 2d, his reception in the said burgh.

“ *Pittenweem, decimo quarto Februarij 1651.*—The baillies and council being conveened, and having received information that his Majesty is to be in progress with his court along the coast to-morrow, and to stay at Anstruther House that night, have thought it expedient, according to their bounden duty, with all reverence and due respect, and with all the solemnity they can, to await upon his Majesty

¹ See Lyon’s History of St Andrews, ii. pp. 34–37.

as he comes through this his Majestie's burgh, and invite his Majesty to eat and drink as he passes; and, for that effect, hath ordained that the morn afternoon the town colours be put up on the bartisan of the town steple; and that at 3 o'clock the bells begin to ring, untill his Majesty come hither and passes to Anstruther. And sicklike, that the minister be spoken to, to be with the Baillies and Council, who are to be in their best apparell, and with them a guard of twenty-four of the ablest men with partisans, and other twenty-four with muskets, all in their best apparell (William Sutherland commanding as captain of the guard), are to wait on his Majesty, and receive his Highness at the West Port, and bring his Majesty and his Court through the town, untill they come to Robert Smith's yate, where an table is to be covered with my Lord's best carpet; and that George Hedderwick have in readiness, of fine flower, some great buns, and other wheat bread of the best order, baken with sugar, cannel,¹ and spices fitting; and that James Richardson and Walter Airth have care to have ready aught or ten gallons of good strong ale, with canary, sack, and Rennish tent, white wine, and claret, that his Majesty and his Court may eat and drink; and that in the meantime, when his Majesty is present, the guard do diligently attend about the court; and so soon as his Majesty is to go away, that a sign be made to Andrew Tod (who is appointed to attend the colours on the steple-head, to the effect that he may give sign to those who attend the cannons) of his Majesty's departure, and then the haill thirty-six cannons to be shot at once. It is also thought fitting that the minister, and James Richardson the oldest baillie, when his Majesty comes to the table, shew the great joy and sense this burgh has of his Majesty's condescendence to visit this same, with some other expressions of loyalty,—which was acted." All this was proof of the loyal feeling which existed among the middling and lower ranks of the Scots, where it was not checked by religious excitement or adventitious circumstances.

It would appear, that during the King's visit to Fife, he reviewed those of his army that were quartered in that

¹ Cinnamon.

county. Balfour says, that twelve regiments of horse were stationed there ; and these were probably inspected and addressed by his Majesty in the course of his tour ; for the continuator of Baker's " Chronicle,"¹ says, that " at a general rendezvous which was held in the west of Fife, the King came into the field to encourage the soldiers with his personal presence, and made a speech to them, wherein he exhorted them to be valiant and faithful to his cause ; telling them, moreover, that he would rather choose to die in the field than be driven up into the mountains."

I know not what description of soldiers these were, or what part of the country they came from, but it would appear that their moral conduct, and their behaviour to the Presbyterian ministers in the parishes where they were quartered, was far from being of a decorous character. The Prebytery Records of this period contain numerous entries, complaining of " insolency" on the part of those men ; which is hardly what we might have expected, considering the power of the Kirk, and the alleged piety of the people. The following may serve as a specimen :—" *February 26, anent insolencies of souldiers*—The Presbyterie being touched with a depe sense of the great dishonour done to God, and sore oppressions of our congregations, caused by the vngodlie and insolent behaviour of diverse souldiers quartered within our bounds, have resolved to complaine to the King's Majestie and Comittee of Estates, and humblie to supplicate for redresse and remedy heiroy : And therefore, doe desire heritours or others in our bounds, to come to their owne Session the nixt Lord's day in the afternoone, and give in the names of such as are guiltie of abhominable curseing and swearing, profaneing the Lord's day by absenting themselves from publicke worship, staying in their quarters, or otherwayes are intemperate persons, or have scandalouslie oppressed them by exacting, besyde quhat is due to commanders, moneys unjustlie for souldiers that are not in regiments ; or have beaten any for refusing them what they did unjustlie desire ; that these may be repre-

¹ Sir R. Baker died in 1645, but his Chronicle was continued by Mr Edward Philip.

sented to us on Monday nixt. And appoints everie minister to intimate the same the nixt Lord's day after forenoones sermon." ¹

It seems singular that the Presbyterian ministers who had the power, at this very time, of bringing the nobles of Scotland to their knees, for the *supposed* offence of having abetted "James Graham," and taken part in the "Engagement," should yet have wanted the power of punishing private soldiers for *real* offences.

The continuator of Baker tells us, farther, that the King, after leaving Fife, "went to the Assembly of Aberdeen, to compose the differences among the ministers there." There was no Assembly, properly so called, at Aberdeen at this time; but we learn from Blair's Life, that the Assembly's Commission appointed several of the more moderate of their number to accompany the King to that city, for the purpose of conferring with some of the opposite party there, who had been acting with extreme violence. They went and conferred with them accordingly; but though at first the Aberdeen ministers made some concessions, and seemed inclined for peace, yet, in the end, they retracted all they had granted, and remained in no better a mind than before. In short, the whole kirk, and to a great extent the State too, was shaken to its centre by this unhappy controversy between Resolutioners and Protesters, at the very period when union was above all things necessary for repelling the common enemy.

Nevertheless, the raising of the levies in the north advanced more prosperously than could have been expected. Dr Bate says,—“At Aberdeen the royal standard was erected, to which, from all quarters, both regular troops and volunteers plentifully flowed.” But we have no particulars of the King's stay in that city. In the Treasurer's accounts for 1650–51 (no more definite date is given than this), there is a list of disbursements by the town on the King's behalf, under the head of “his Majesty's charges at his last being in Aberdeen;” which word “last” most like-

¹ Records of the Presbytery of St Andrews, p. 61. See also those of Cupar, under March 1651.

ly alludes to his visit at the time we are now considering, in contradistinction to his earlier one in June 1650. I have read over the articles of disbursement, but there is nothing in them remarkable.

Immediately after the King returned to Perth, he received an envoy from the Dutch, who came to complain that some of their vessels had been captured by Sir John Greenville, the royal governor of the Scilly Islands, and others by the Earl of Derby, Governor of the Isle of Man. These vessels had been trading with the English, and taken on that account; but as the King was on the best terms with Holland, and found it for his interest to remain so, he gave orders for the release of the vessels, and thus afforded the envoy all the satisfaction he demanded.

Let us now trace the progress of events, after the return of Charles to Perth from Aberdeen, in the beginning of March.

It so happened that Sir John Henderson left Perth just after the King arrived there, and went to the Hague, where (as already mentioned), Sir E. Nicholas was the royal representative. The latter thus writes to the Marquis of Ormond, on the 19th March:—"Sir John Henderson, who came from Scotland on Wednesday, this day sevensnight (the 12th), saith the King was then at Perth, and had an army of 10,000 foot and 6000 horse; that Cromwell was with a flux drawn so weak, both in his body and understanding, as he was not able to act, or direct anything, and was gone to Berwick with intention to go to Newcastle." In all the contemporaneous accounts, Cromwell's complaint is called an *ague*, but none of them speak of any failure of "understanding." He was rendered unfit for active service for more than two months, and the English Parliament sent two physicians (Dr Bate being one of them) to see him, and prescribe for him, but he never quitted Scotland, or his army, during the time of his indisposition. Sir E. Nicholas adds, "Cromwell wrote, in his last letter from Scotland, that the young man (meaning his Majesty) was there very active and intelligent, which I am glad to hear from so rancorous a rebel."

On the 20th March, the Commission of the Assembly issued "A short exhortation and warning," in which they say, that "the imminent danger of religion, king, and kingdom, by the unjust invasion of the blasphemous sectarian army; the sad condition of our brethren in the south parts of the kingdom, groaning under the grievous oppression of strangers devouring their substance, and enslaving their persons; the sad silence in many congregations, whose teachers are driven into corners by the violence of the enemies, contemners of God's ordinances, and mockers of his messengers; the adversaries *roaring and making a strange noise in the midst of some congregations*; the inevitable hazard of our dear brethren to be seduced into pernicious heresies and errors, by the deceitful practices and speeches of sectaries, that are coming [cunning?] to deceive and speak lies in hypocrisy; the innocent blood of our brethren murdered by the sword of a merciless enemy; the sighing of the prisoners, inhumanly and cruelly used by those who keep them prisoners; the care of preserving our posterity from being sunk under the dark dungeon of error, and fast bound with the heavy chains of basest slavery—do cry so loud in the ears of all who have ears to hear and a heart to understand, to be awake and quickened unto the necessary duty of the time; that it is a wonder that any Jonah should be found fast asleep in so great a storm, wherein this kirk and kingdom are like to be overwhelmed." "If you tender true religion, you see how the sectaries shew themselves plain enemies thereto, and maintain *that impious monster of toleration*, though religion were not the question. Let loyalty to your king, *the only king in the world who is in a religious covenant with God and his people*, animate you against those who are his enemies, because he is a king, and because covenanted," &c. And with a view to put down the opposition of the *ultra*-covenanting party, they add, "We do, in the name of God, inhibit and discharge all ministers to preach, and all ministers and professors to detract, speak, or write, against the late public resolutions and papers of the Commission of the General Assembly, in order to the calling forth of the people for the necessary defence

of the cause and the kingdom against the unjust invasion of those enemies to the kingdom of God, and to the government of this kirk and kingdom.”¹ This last prohibition meant something more than “an exhortation and warning;” for the Commission (mindful that toleration was an “impious monster,”) enacted that no one who opposed the public resolutions for the admission of malignants, should be chosen a member of Assembly; and not a few, who had offended in this respect, were imprisoned, and not liberated till they expiated their offence by a public repentance.² No man was, in those times, at liberty to judge for himself in matters of religion or politics, but was obliged to succumb to the “tyrant majority,” on whichever side it might chance to be, or whatever were its sentiments. These sentiments changed at different times; so that the unhappy minority had no alternative but either to change with the rest, or to undergo persecution on account of their principles.³ And, what is remarkable, it was the moderate party which had now the ascendancy, and issued this very stringent “warning.” What then would the opposite party have done had they predominated? These last, as may easily be supposed, excited a very bitter outcry against such excessive rigour, and even some of the moderates thought their brethren had gone too far; among whom was Mr Blair, whose biographer says, “He thought the ‘warning’ was too fiery and hot, being himself a man of a most moderate and calm temper.”⁴ Some of the contending parties again met at St Andrews in the course of this month, chiefly that they might get the benefit of Blair’s mediation, who was still too unwell to leave his room; “but,” adds his biographer, “they sundered even as they met.” But I must now return to other matters.

While the Scots were thus, both statemen and ministers, quarreling among themselves, and persecuting one another, Cromwell had by this time taken every town and fortress in the lowlands, except Blackness, Dunbarton, Perth, and Stirling, the two first of which very soon after fell into his

¹ Balfour, iv. pp. 318–328.

² Nicoll, pp. 52, 53.

³ Balfour, iv. pp. 309, 310.

⁴ Blair’s Life, p. 265.

hands. "So that," says Nicoll, "partly by intestine divisions among our Scots, and by the force, policy, and strength of our enemies, the English, this poor land was brought to open confusion and shame; the English army romping through the kingdom without opposition, destroying our corns, and raising cess-money wherever they went, for maintenance of their army and garrisons."

As every thing which throws light on the obscure period we are now investigating is valuable, I may be permitted to quote here a document which I find in the acts of the Scottish Parliament for this year. It is a supplication, dated 25th March, from the officers of the garrison of Stirling, addressed to the Parliament, and gives some notion of the painful and neglected state which that part of the army must have then been in. It runs thus:—"Sheweth, that we have been in garrison these seven months past, and have received only four month's pay, at 20 shillings Scots *per diem* [1s. 8d. sterling] to a captain,¹ &c., which, although it had been duly paid, could hardly afford necessary entertainment for the discharge of our diet; whereas the rest of the officers have had their constant pay out of their quarters. Likewise, the hard entertainment of the soldiers is not to be forgotten; to say nothing of their scarcity of food, sometimes lacking three days of their week's allowance, and being almost destitute of clothing. And although some of them have been formerly hardly bred, and could endure hardships as well as others, yet [they are] dying upon duty, not having so much as to defend them from the extremity of the cold, yea, hardly to cover their nakedness. We are not insensible of the great strait the kingdom is in, and the inability thereof to bear the great burthenings upon it; neither are we desiring great things nor superfluities, but necessary entertainment, such as we may be enabled to discharge our duties. Wherefore, we humbly present the pre-

¹ This may give us some idea of the value of money at this period. A few months before, the Committee of Estates had issued an order that in the burghs of Scotland, no landlord should charge a gentleman more than 4d. sterling for one night's lodgings, and 2d. for a servant, exclusive of fire and light, which were to be paid for separately. Balfour's Annals, iv. p. 166.

mises to your serious consideration, and desire that some effectual course may be found for payment of the three months pay due for discharging our quarters ; and likewise some settled way of entertainment for the present and future." How such disorders could have arisen at the headquarters of an army that pretended to any degree of regularity and discipline, it is very difficult to conceive ; but the Supplication was referred to " the Committee of the Army," who, finding that the evil complained of was but too well founded, gave directions that it should be remedied.

In the beginning of the year 1649, a very tyrannical and iniquitous act of Parliament had been passed, through the influence of the Marquis of Argyll, Johnston of Wariston, and their ultra-Presbyterian coadjutors, called the " Act of Classes ;" so named, from the persons whom it affected being divided into four classes, according to their different degrees of supposed delinquency. The first, and most culpable, were those who had been concerned *directly* in the Duke of Hamilton's " unlawful engagement," and " the horrid rebellion of James Graham ;" (rebellion, that is, against the Covenanters, and in favour of the King !) ; and for this offence the punishment was exclusion from Parliament and offices of trust *during life*. The *second* class comprehended those who were *indirectly* concerned in the same measures ; and their punishment was exclusion from the same privileges for *ten years*. The *third* class were those who had failed to protest against the measures in question ; and their punishment was to last *five years*. The *fourth* class consisted of those who had been guilty of public scandal, profane swearing, drunkenness, adultery, &c., and the punishment of such was to last *one year* ; in which classification one cannot help being struck with the singular anomaly of fidelity to a lawful King being not only reckoned a crime, and ranked with the worst offences against God, but held to be deserving of a far severer punishment than the most flagrant violations of the decalogue ! If the framers of this act had ever any pretensions to " pure and undefiled religion," surely there was nothing more wanting to overthrow such pretensions, in the eyes of all good Chris-

tians, than the authorship of so detestable and impious an act. And yet a modern Scots minister says concerning it, that "by it the liberties of the Church and nation were protected from those who were manifestly disposed to trample them under foot!" Some persons forget that no ends can justify means which are essentially wrong; and that those ends can never be good which need bad means to accomplish them. Another living Scots minister says, "Men will term this act one of bigotry and intolerance. It evidently aimed at the construction of what the world has never yet seen—a Christian government, composed of men whose ruling principle should be to fear God and honour the King." So then, to "fear God" is to regard vice as *less* atrocious, and *less* deserving of punishment, than loyalty! and to "honour the King," is to reward his enemies, and heap indignity on his most devoted adherents! It were difficult to find a name for the framers and defenders of such conduct. "Bigotted" and "intolerant" express only a small part of the obloquy they deserve. Their behaviour amounts, at the very least, to "calling evil good, and good evil," against which a woe is denounced. Or we might even describe it as that "deceivableness of unrighteousness," and the being "given over to a strong delusion to believe a lie," which are represented in the New Testament as the works of Antichrist. The religionists in question did not scruple to call Cromwell and the Pope by this offensive name; but they little thought of its applicability to themselves. Be this, however, as it may, it was now happily thought expedient to endeavour to repeal the "Act of Classes." This, we shall see, was effected, but not without great hesitation on the part of the Resolutioners, and the most violent opposition on the part of the Protesters.

The seventh session of the Parliament opened in presence of the King, on the 13th of March. A Mr Robert Young preached the sermon, but who he was I am uncertain. It was carried by a majority of votes, that Lord Burleigh should be president of the new Parliament, in the room of Lord Chancellor Loudon, for no other reason, it would seem, than because the former was the more disposed, or

rather the less indisposed of the two, to favour Hamilton and the royalist party. Burleigh had no great reason to boast of his loyalty, but Loudon had less still; and hence this step was so far in a favourable direction. Both these noblemen had taken an active part against the late King, as well as against Montrose, and his followers; and Loudon especially had rendered himself very obnoxious by his low cunning, duplicity, and tergiversation; but now that there was a reaction gradually going on, Loudon was more dilatory in retracing his steps than Burleigh. Even after the passing of the act for the admission of Malignants into the army, the former had grumbled at the great number of that class who came forward to serve the King. And in the course of this very month (in a debate, in which the royalist party outvoted their opponents), he and Lothian exhibited so much of their old disloyal humour, that, in open Parliament, and in the royal presence, "they did check the King much for his inconstancy (as they called it), in deserting his best friends, that brought him to this country, put the crown on his head; and now, as it seemed, adhered to those who had done his father the worst offices that subjects could do to a prince; contrary to his own words, promises, writings, oaths, and declarations, both private and public."¹ This reproachful language was not very reconcileable with the oath of allegiance which these two noblemen had taken to the King, not three months before (p. 155), and the latter must have possessed uncommon forbearance, to listen patiently to such effrontery and insult. These peers should have been the last persons to accuse any one of breaking promises, seeing this was the very thing they themselves had repeatedly done.² And Charles was the last person who should have been reproached for what he was now doing, inasmuch as he was bound, by the treaty of Breda, to agree to all matters civil that should be determined by the Parliament, and to all

¹ Balfour's Annals, iv. pp. 212-275.

² Loudon was a man of dissolute morals, sins which, however, his zeal for the Covenant in in a great measure covered.—C. K. Sharpe's edition of Kirkton, p. 33.

matters ecclesiastical that should be determined by the General Assembly.

On the 19th of this month came on the motion for the repeal of the Act of Classes. The King and Parliament proposed, "whether or not it be sinful and unlawful, for the more effectual prosecution of the public resolutions for the defence of the cause of the King, and kingdom, to admit such persons to be members of the Committee of Estates, who are now debarred from the public trust; they being such as have satisfied the Kirk for the offence for which they were excluded, and are since admitted to enter in covenant with us?" This query was ordered to be sent to the Commission of the General Assembly, which accordingly was done by the Earl of Eglinton.

To this question (which a modern Scots writer says "evinces a most reckless audacity"), the Commission, on the 22d, gave in this brief and somewhat evasive answer (which the same modern writer thinks "is characterised with an indecision and acquiescence utterly unworthy of watchmen on Zion's wall!"), that they would need a larger attendance of ministers to settle the point; but meantime, they desire the King and Parliament to admit into their councils "all but some few as have been prime actors against the state;" meaning by this, those who had been *most* zealous and active in support of the late King and Montrose, and most opposed, consequently, to the Covenant, the Westminster Standards, and Presbyterianism. This answer not being thought sufficiently definite, the Parliament again wrote on the 29th, requesting a more distinct reply.

Some delay, however, occurred, and meanwhile the Parliament adjourned till the 17th April, and again till the 21st May. In this interval, the Commission was anxiously deliberating what answer they should give to the question which had been submitted to them; unwilling, on the one hand, to eat up the declarations, and protestations, and remonstrances, which they had repeatedly uttered and acted on during the previous ten years, and thereby to stultify themselves, and offend numbers of their brethren; and still more unwilling, on the other hand, to lose the services of

the royalists at a time when there was so much need for the co-operation of all parties.

While this deliberation is pending, we will turn our attention to other contemporaneous matters. About this time, Dunbarton Castle was taken by Cromwell; and in it, or near it, the Earl of Eglinton, and one of his younger sons, were found, and made prisoners. They were first sent to Edinburgh Castle for greater security, and subsequently to Hull and then to Berwick, where they were detained till the Restoration. Baillie, in a letter to the Earl of Lauderdale, of the 4th April says, "My Lord Eglinton's lamentable surprise confirms us all in our long suspicions, that the King, army, and State, if not Church, is in greater hazard to be quickly destroyed by villainous traitors among you, beyond Forth, than either by the English or Scots besouth Forth. God help us. All of you are suspected by divers. Treachery and division, it is feared, will destroy all." This is strong language, and not easily accounted for, unless it be from the desponding turn of Baillie's mind. We are not informed of the particulars of the fall of Dunbarton Castle; but at this time the dissensions ran high between Hamilton's and Argyll's parties. Cromwell was vigilant and enterprising, while Lesley seems to have been the reverse. We may thus account for the capture of Dunbarton, without having recourse to the supposition of treachery.¹

There was, however, a man of the name of Archibald Hamilton, who seems to have had some hand in the delivery of this Castle to the English, and had very nearly succeeded in betraying Sir Philip Musgrave also, one of the King's personal suite. A letter from Perth at this time thus speaks of the said traitor: "We have lately hanged a spy at Stirling, one Hamilton by name, who, for five pounds a week, has done us no little mischief. This man betrayed Sir Philip Musgrave, who narrowly escaped from them by running up to the middle in the sea to a boat, in which he was transported to the Isle of Man,"—where he would be safe, for a time at least, under the protection of the Earl

¹ Balfour's Annals, iv., p. 296.

of Derby, one of the King's most devoted adherents, and with whom, accordingly, he remained till the August following, when they both came together to join the King, after he had marched into England.

Not long after this, we find another letter from Baillie to Lauderdale, of a different character from the one last quoted, in which the Presbyterian minister takes upon himself to give military, as well as religious, advice to his noble correspondent :—" Why," he asks, " has not every regiment a minister ? Why is there no Presbytery in your army ? Had you ever so many ministers out of charge ? I like well your delay of fighting, if you could keep up your army ; but beware it melt not, and the country faint not under its oppression. Why train you not your soldiers, and daily exercise them ? Upon the huge large quarters of the enemy, will you make no infall !" As to the military part of this letter, it seems incredible that in the presence of so many experienced officers, the army should not be daily exercised ; and yet, perhaps, it may be viewed as confirmatory of that neglect of discipline which we have already seen indicated by the complaint of the garrison of Stirling Castle in the preceding month. But as to the religious part of the letter, considering the materials of which the army was now composed, it is not very surprising that Scottish ministers and presbyteries should not have been much in request. If there were no governing authority absolutely to impose them, it could hardly be expected that the King and his Cavalier officers would go out of their way in search of them. It is certain, at any rate, that if they had not Presbyterian ministers to officiate to them, they had no other, because no other would at that time have been permitted.

Meanwhile, Lord Montgomery, the eldest son of the Earl of Eglinton, in revenge for the capture of his father and his brother, together with Lord Cranston and 500 horse, marched from Stirling ; and suddenly entering Linlithgow, which was garrisoned by the English, they took and carried off a number of prisoners. They were soon, however, pursued by Major Sydenham, the commandant of the place ; but the Scots faced about and attacked their pursuers, mortally

wounded the commandant, killed 60 of the enemy, and carried off their prisoners in triumph.¹

After the fall of Dunbarton, Cromwell paid a visit to Glasgow, of which the ministers of the city gave the following account in a letter to Mr Robert Douglas :—" Cromwell having come to Hamilton on Friday late, and to Glasgow on the Saturday, with a body of his army, sooner than with safety we could have retired ourselves, on Sunday, before noon, he came unexpectedly to the High Inner Church, where quietly he heard Mr Robert Ramsay preach a very good honest sermon, *pertinent for his case*. In the afternoon he came, as unexpectedly, to the High Outer Kirk, where he heard Mr John Carstairs lecture, and Mr James Durham preach graciously, and *well to the times*, as could have been desired. Generally, all who preached that day in the town, gave a fair enough testimony *against the sectaries*. That night, some of the army was *trying if the ministers would be pleased, of their own accord*, to confer with their General. All of us did meet to advise ; and after some debate, we were content to go and hear what would be said. When we came, he spoke long and smoothly, showing the scandal himself and others had taken at the doctrine they heard preached ; especially that they were condemned, *first*, as unjust invaders ; *secondly*, as contemners and trampleurs under foot of the ordinances ; *thirdly*, as persecutors of the ministers in Ireland ; but as they were unwilling to offend us, by a public contradicting of us in the church, so they expected we would be willing to give them a reason, either for those three, or what else was excepted against, in any of our sermons. The time appointed for this, was this day at 2 o'clock at Cromwell's lodgings. But this morning he sent us word, it would be to-morrow ; and that, at the same time and place, he would attend us. We trust, by the grace of God, to speak nothing for the disadvantage of the truth, and cause in hand. Let the Lord make of this what he will. We had no mind to begin, and have no pleasure to continue, any conference with any of these men ; but all of us conceive it was unavoidable, with-

¹ Heath's Chronicle, p. 288.

out a greater scandal, to do what we have done. The Lord be with you.

“Your brethren, the ministers in the place.”

Here this matter ended; for, according to Balfour, Cromwell could not, or would not, keep his appointment with the Glasgow ministers, but hastily marched the same night back to Edinburgh. It is, however, observable, that the ministers say that they had no desire to begin or continue the conference; but it seems, from their own shewing, that this conference was as much their seeking as Cromwell's. He does not appear to have volunteered any wish on the subject. It was some of his men who were “*trying* if the ministers would be *pleased* to go to him *of their own accord*,”—a somewhat contradictory statement. No sooner did they learn this, than they met and talked over the matter, and came to the resolution of going immediately, thinking, no doubt, that they would have greatly the better of the argument. But it is evident that Cromwell justly accused them of making their pulpits channels of personal abuse of himself and his army, instead of confining themselves to the proper business of their calling. Although he had the power in his hands to revenge himself upon them, to any extent he pleased, yet he forebore, and simply reasoned the matter with them, thus returning good for evil. According to the account in the “Cromwelliana,” this conference took place on the 19th of April; Generals Cromwell and Lambert being the chief speakers on the one side, and Messrs Guthrie and Gillespie on the other. Faulty as we must deem the position of both parties, it must be confessed that the Puritans shewed themselves superior to the Presbyterians in fairness and forbearance.

The gossiping Wodrow, in his *Analecta*, iii. p. 292, tells the following anecdote, connected with the foregoing narrative, though it is sufficiently childish, and probably not true:—“William Wood *tells me*, he *had* this account from old Mr Aikenhead, who *heard* it from the gentlewoman, that Cromwell came into Glasgow with some of his officers, on a Sabbath Day, and came straight to the High Church, where Mr Durham was preaching. The first seat that

offered was Professor Porterfield's, where Mrs Porterfield sat; and she, seeing he was an English officer, was almost not civil. However, he got in, and sat next Mrs P. After sermon was over, he asked the minister's name. She sullenly enough told him, and desired to know wherefor he asked? He said, because he perceived him to be a very great man, and, in his opinion, might be chaplain to any prince in Europe, though he had never seen nor heard of him before. She enquired about him, and found it was General Cromwell."

It appears that, at this time, Sir William Throgmorton, and forty or fifty English officers, together with some horses, and a *coach* for the King, arrived in Scotland, where they landed safe (though we are not told in what part), and proceeded immediately to join the royal army.¹ This supply was probably sent from the Hague, and may have arrived at Dundee or Aberdeen; as we learn (from a letter written by Sir Walter Strickland, dated the Hague, 9th April), that an armament was then being prepared at that place for the service of the King, and which armament was to be dispatched to one or other of the above towns.²

The royal army, now consisting of both Cavaliers and Presbyterians, and united, in profession at least, was constituted at Stirling early in May. The Scottish nobles, Hamilton, Rothes, Linlithgow, Dunfermline, Home, Errol, Balcarras, Marischall, Ogilvy, Cranston, Drummond, Forbes, Erskine, &c., besides several private gentlemen of wealth and influence, had each raised a regiment for the King's service, which was called after the name of him who had sent or brought it into the field, and in some instances commanded by himself in person. In addition to these, but which had not yet gone to Stirling, there were the Athol, Kelly, Crawford, and Huntly contingents already mentioned. The Commander-in-chief was the King himself which office he had consented to assume at the urgent request of the Parliament; and which he was the more disposed to accept, because his possession of it tended to lessen the jealousy which the Highland chieftains felt towards

¹ Carte, i. p. 463.

² Carey's Memorials, ii. p. 262.

Lesley. The old Earl of Leven had, at the same time, offered to resign his nominal command, on account of his increasing infirmities ; but he was requested to continue it, as his advice might be useful, though he could no longer serve in the field. The general officers under the King, were Lesley, Montgomery, Brown, Middleton, Massey,¹ and Wandross. The men were about 20,000 in number ; but though there was an appearance of union and strength, there was much dissension among the commanders at this time, arising probably from the old subjects of dispute between Cavaliers and Covenanters ; so that the King had a very difficult part to act, to keep peace among them, by assuming a neutrality which he could not be supposed to feel, but which he had the prudence to see, was the only way to bring about a good understanding among men of such opposite principles. A Mr Feversham, who was attached to his suite, thus writes concerning him from Perth, 5th May :—" His Majesty's judgment and activity, both in civil and martial affairs, are to a degree you would not imagine, in so few months' growth as he hath trode this stage ; being the first and forwardest upon every occasion in either kind ; and adventuring his person (I pray God not too much) upon every show of danger, riding continually, and being up early and late ; with which, nevertheless, his health is not abated, but the contrary." Another of the royal followers, writing from the same place, on the following day, discloses some curious particulars, which I believe will be new to most readers :—" Our business here goes on pretty well, but slower than I expected. We shall not be able to draw absolutely into the field this month for want of provisions for our horse. Our foot are all marched up, and are to be divided into three camps to secure the river ; one at Burnt Island, the other near Stirling, and the third at the fords which are above Stirling. Our army will be in all 15,000 foot, as good men to look on as any in the world ;

¹ Massey, before the murder of Charles I., had been Governor of the city of Gloucester under the Parliament ; and was then so zealous a presbyterian, that he distinguished himself by stripping the churches, tearing to pieces the prayer-books, and selling the communion plate !

and 5000 horse, which will be our blind side, for they are most of them poor and weak ; yet, I believe, we can make 2000 as good any the enemy hath. This, I believe, is a just account of our strength ; and it is enough, if we manage it like good soldiers, and good subjects. The enemy lies close to Glasgo ; his design is to cut up all provision in the west, for fear we should have the advantage of it. His men come daily unto us, and tell us of strange numbers that will come to us as soon as we march on the other side of the river. They are so far from being obedient to their officers, that they will do but what they list,”—“ One morning early they came with 80 sail of little and great vessels, and bore up directly to a little town in Fife called *Kercaudy*, where they discharged many of their cannon, which did no greater harm than striking a poor woman’s buttock off. The King was upon the place himself with force enough (with God’s assistance) to have repulsed them if they had offered to land, which, when we expected, they fairly retreated to the place from whence they came, having nothing in their boats but seamen.” He then goes on to speak of the mischievous feud between Hamilton and Argyll,—the friendship between the latter and Buckingham—the new zeal of the kirk for the King—and matters which we have already had from other sources. But this is the only record we possess of the affair at Kircaldy, and of the King’s being in that part of Fife so late as the month of May or April.¹

We must now return to the Commission of the General Assembly, whom we left deliberating on the repeal of the Act of Classes. They addressed a letter from Perth on the 13th May, to “ the Committee of Estates and Army,” in which they in substance said, that providing judicatories and places of power and trust be filled with such men as are of known and good affection to the cause of God, and of a blameless Christian conversation, &c., nothing doth hinder, but that persons formerly debarred from places of power and trust may be admitted to the same, and the censures inflicted upon them by the Act of Classes may be rescinded *without sin* by the Parliament, in whose power it

¹ Carte, ii. p. 25.

is to lengthen or shorten the time of their censures, as they shall think just and necessary ; provided that they be men that have satisfied the kirk for their offences, and have renewed or taken the Covenant, and be of known and good affection to the cause of God, &c.

The 8th session of the Parliament met at Stirling on the 23d, under the presidency of Lord Burleigh, on which occasion Mr James Durham preached the opening sermon ;¹ and the first thing they did was to repeal the obnoxious Act, whereby all who had been excluded from their seats in Parliament, and made incapable of holding public offices, were declared fit to serve the King, in any civil as well as military capacity, on the condition of satisfying the Kirk, and subscribing a bond that they would not seek the alteration of any of the existing laws in favour of the religion then established, nor revenge themselves on any who had formerly opposed them. This measure, however wise and necessary in itself, served, as might have been foreseen, to widen the breach between the moderate and the ultra-Covenanting parties. The clerical adherents of the latter preached more loudly than ever against their rulers, and especially against the framers of this repeal, notwithstanding it had become law ; maintaining, that “ to take in men of known enmity to the cause, was in some sort to betray it, because it was giving them the power to deal treacherously ; and that to admit them to a profession of repentance was a profane mockery, so long as their sole object was to get into power.” The obvious answer to this was, that the country ought not to lose the services of any of its subjects ; that if they had before made a false step, the sooner they retraced it the better ; that the Act of Classes was in itself of a very iniquitous nature ; and that the royalists, by subscribing the Covenant and the bond, had given all the evidence that could be asked of their sincerity. At the same time, it must be allowed, that the adherence of the royalist nobility and gentry to the cause of the Kirk Covenant, was just as much a pretence as it had been in the December preceding, when they were admitted into the

¹ Act Parliam. Car. II.

army; inasmuch as they were fully prepared to renounce this cause, whenever they should have an opportunity. And what made the matter worse was, that the penance inflicted on the new converts was little better than an idle mockery. Thus, the Duke of Hamilton's stool of repentance is said to have been a comfortably stuffed cushion, on which he reposed himself in the pew of his church, during the sermon which called on him to repent of his malignancy; after which he gave a grand banquet to a numerous party of his friends, in honour of his being restored to his seat in Parliament!¹ The evil of all this lay partly in the fanaticism of the age, partly in the absurd decree of the Kirk against malignancy, and partly, no doubt, in the hypocrisy of those who submitted to those decrees in order to serve their own purposes.

The 29th of May was celebrated by the Scots with much festivity and rejoicing, as being the King's birth-day, on which he completed his twenty-first year; in order to the observance whereof, the Parliament adjourned that day, and his Majesty and most of the nobility dined together at a great feast.² There was also a solemn appearance and training of the soldiery; and at night, all the streets blazed with bonfires, and the cannons played from Stirling, Burntisland, and the rest of the Scottish garrisons. But not any one town shewed their affection in so particular a manner as the town of Dundee, from which a very large contribution was gathered towards his assistance. The citizens also presented him with a stately tent, together with six pieces of ordnance, and set out a regiment of horse at their own expense.³ Dundee was distinguished for its loyalty during this war, which was, unhappily, the cause of its being besieged and stormed by Monk, after the King had quitted Scotland.

During the month of June, very little seems to have been done by either the Scots or English army. The former

¹ Sir R. Baker's Chronicle, *in loco*. Carte Collection, i. p. 445.

² It does not clearly appear what town is here referred to, but it must have been either Perth or Stirling.

³ Sir R. Baker's Chronicle, *in loco*.

appointed a *fast* to be kept on the 19th, to implore a blessing on the King, and that he might be directed rightly to command the army, now ready to meet the enemy. From the favourable change which had taken place in their counsels, no allusion was any more made to the sins of his family and forefathers. A voluntary contribution was, about the same time, raised throughout Scotland, "for expediting the army to the field against the common enemy, and for defence of the land against their unjust invasion."

Cromwell had suffered severely from ague since the month of February; but though he had been better and worse during several months, he did not finally recover till the month of June. One of his followers, writing on this subject to a friend in England, thus expresses himself: "Truly sir, his life and health are exceedingly precious, and I account it every day a greater mercy than any other that we have his life; observing that every dispensation of God draws him nearer to himself, and makes him more heavenly and holy, and, by consequence, more useful for his generation in the management of that power God hath committed to him," &c. Great men never want flatterers. His friend General Fairfax sent down in his own coach two English physicians, Drs Wright and Bate, to see him. "They are expected here to-morrow," says his attendant, writing on the 5th June, "but the Lord himself hath (before their coming, blessed be his name), been his physician, and said unto him, *Live!*"

But, notwithstanding his illness, Cromwell had kept his men marching between Edinburgh and Falkirk, Linlithgow and Glasgow; and had now concentrated a great part of them towards the south of Stirling, while the rest were encamped in the Pentland Hills. The King, during the same period, now that he had got more power into his hands, was very active, as we have seen, in bringing up the northern and eastern contingents to Stirling; which town and its Castle, as well as the outworks in the neighbourhood, had been rendered all but impregnable. A great part of the cavalry was at this time encamped in the Torwood, six miles south from the town, having the river

Carron and strong entrenchments in front, while the north-eastern counties lay open to the Scots for a continual supply of provisions and recruits.

A few desultory facts may be gathered from Whitelock's "Memorials," as to the military operations of the two armies at this time. Under date of 18th June, he says, that letters had been received from the English army, to the effect that "the Scots army was enclosed in Stirling Park, which are their own works, and not to be attempted but upon great disadvantage; that old Leven continues general under the King, and that they have several major-generals; that their forces are about 28,000, and that they have hanged three or four for refusing to bear arms, and that they expect many in England to join them; that their soldiers have no pay, but 2 lbs of meal a-day; that there was a proclamation at Perth that the word 'Malignants' should be forborne, for that all interests were now agreed." Under date 5th July, the same memorialist says, "Letters that the Scots army were drawn out on this side Stirling, and thereupon the general (Cromwell) drew out his army from Edinburgh, and they lay in the field to be in a fit place to receive the enemy; but the Scots went back, and the English encamped upon the Pentland Hills." Two days after, he says, "Letters that both armies in Scotland are drawing nearer to one another; that the general had in his army 14 regiments of horse, 22 regiments of foot, and 16 pieces of ordnance, and that both armies are within 8 or 9 miles of one another, and that some of the scouts have met; that the English army saw the Scots Leaguer; that they are 15,000 foot, and 6000 horse; that the Scots have great differences among themselves; that Hamilton carries all, and Argyll and his party are down; that some ministers have put out a new remonstrance against the taking in of some notorious malignants." Again, "That the general marched towards the Scots army lying at Torwood, and there was pickering between the parties, &c.; that the King was in the field, encouraging his troops; that the first rank of their troops was armed complete. They gave out their army to be

29,000, but 'tis supposed they are 20,000 ; that they had entrenched themselves, and planted great guns, so that they could not be attempted with less danger than storming a garrison ; that the general called a council of war on the field, and by their advice drew off to the vale, to see if the Scots would follow them and forsake their hills, which they did not ; and so the English army returned back to their former quarters at Linlithgow." Again, " That Cromwell marched up again to the Scots, but their foot were entrenched, and their horse lay so that the English could not engage them, there being a river and bogs between them ; though Cromwell came up to the teeth of them, and viewed all their bodies, yet they would not come forth." In the course of these manœuverings, the English took Callender House, and put its Scots garrison to the sword. This was in the middle of July.

Nothing, to all appearance, would have been easier than for Cromwell to interpose his army between Stirling and Torwood, and thus not only cut off the communication between the two main bodies of his enemy, but bring one or both of them into action, which was what he professed to be above all things anxious for. So likely was it that he would pursue this plan, that the wonder is why the royalists, instead of keeping possession of Torwood, which had no natural defences, did not rather abandon that position, and occupy the heights of Airthrey, three miles to the north of Stirling. But whatever might be their reasons for preferring Torwood, the field of Bannockburn lies between the former place and Stirling ; and it has been said, that Cromwell was averse to fight the Scots on that ground, lest the memory of the splendid victory which their forefathers gained over his countrymen in the 14th century, might operate to his disadvantage.

Under these circumstances, the English general determined to divide his army ; to retain part with himself in its then position, with a view to occupy the attention of the enemy, and to order the rest, under Lambert, to cross the Forth at Queensferry, and enter Fife. In his narrative of what followed, he begins his dispatch to the Speaker of the

English Parliament, in these words : “ After our waiting upon the Lord, and not knowing what course to take, for indeed we know nothing but what God pleaseth to teach us of his great mercy, *we were directed* to send a party to get us a landing by our boats, &c. &c.” In short, on the morning of the 17th July, Colonel Overton crossed the Forth with 1400 men, and took possession of the North Ferry and Dunfermline¹ without opposition, while Lambert followed with two regiments of horse, and two of foot. As soon as the royal army received intelligence of this movement, they sent 4000 men under Generals Holborn and Brown who, on Sunday, came in sight of the enemy near Dunfermline. A battle was fought on the same day, with the success which attended all the military operations of the English in this war, or the fatality which accompanied those of their enemies. General Sir John Brown was taken prisoner, and died soon after. The loss of the English was too trifling to be mentioned ; while that of the Scots in killed, wounded, and prisoners, was 1 general, 2 colonels, 1 major, 13 captains, 17 lieutenants, 29 ensigns, 5 quarter-masters, 26 sergeants, and nearly 2000 privates.

In consequence of this defeat, Inchgarvie and Burntisland within a few days surrendered to the English ; while some of their troops marched along the south coast of Fife, where they committed some excesses, particularly at Wemyss and Anstruther. Writing of this success to the Speaker of the English Parliament, Cromwell says : “ This is an unspeakable mercy ; I trust the Lord will follow it until he hath perfected peace and truth. It’s sealed upon our hearts that this, as all the rest, is from the Lord’s goodness, and not from man. I hope it becometh me to

¹ Extracts from the Dunfermline Kirk-Session Records :—“ 17th July 1651, being Thursday, Cromwell’s army landed here, who, on the Sabbath thereafter, battle being beside Pitreavie, killed and cut many of our men, and robbed and plundered all. Every man that was able, fled for a time, so that there could be no meeting for discipline this space.”

“ 12th Aug.—The boards and seats of the session-house, and the kirk boxes being all broken, and the haill money plundered and taken away by Cromwell’s men, it is thought fit that the session house be repaired, and box mended, as also a new *brod* (board or wooden plate) be made to gather the offering.”

pray that we may walk humbly and self-denyingly before the Lord, and believingly also, &c." On the 29th July, he writes to the same personage from Burntisland, "The greatest part of the army is in Fife, waiting what way God will further lead us. It hath pleased God to give us Burntisland, which indeed is very conducive to the carrying on of our affairs, &c."¹ Whether this language proceeded from a pious frame of mind, or was meant to conceal his private intentions, or was only in accordance with the usual phraseology of the period, I leave others to determine. It is however evident, that Cromwell regarded himself as another Joshua, and certainly he had the success of one.

But leaving him in possession of his victory, we must shift the scene, and attend to what was going on at the annual meeting of the General Assembly which was held this year on the 16th July, at St Andrews. From what we have already seen of the enmity of the Resolutioners and Protesters to each other, it was to be expected that this would break out with renewed violence when they met on this occasion, and it did. The Earl of Balcarras was the King's Commissioner. Andrew Cant, a Protester, preached the opening sermon, which he commenced by intimating that he would not enter on the subject of the public resolutions, as they were to be taken up by the Assembly, and recommended peace; but being unable to contain himself, he launched out into a strong vituperation of the opposite party. Robert Douglas, a Resolutioner, preached in the afternoon, and also recommended peace; but he thought fit, nevertheless, to contradict the assertions of the morning sermon. Before they began their deliberations, the Commissioner read a letter from the King, excusing his absence, exhorting them to unity, and desiring them to maintain the public resolutions. In some instances, double returns were given in of members elected by the opposing parties in their respective presbyteries. In other instances, the members undoubtedly chosen could

¹ Cromwell states that the water in the harbour of Burntisland was then a foot deeper at high tide than in the harbour of Leith.

not attend, owing to the places from whence they should have come being occupied by the English. These irregularities gave rise to opposing opinions and violent altercations, in which the Royal Commissioner himself took a part, naturally siding with the Resolutioners. The writs having been presented, a Protester of the name of Menzies, proposed that none of the members who had been in the late Commission (which had sanctioned the repeal of the Act of Classes) should be received as members of the present Assembly, as their conduct had been scandalous and offensive. This proposal created an angry discussion. Mr James Guthrie seconded Mr Menzies' motion, and strongly censured the Resolutioners. Mr Blair said, that in the opening sermons which they had heard, peace had been recommended, whereas the words of Messrs Guthrie and Menzies were fierce and bitter. These two replied, that the motion they had introduced was for the exoneration of their consciences. The Resolutioners urged that nothing could be done till the Assembly was duly constituted, and a moderator chosen. The other party (who knew they were the minority) contended that the very accusation of "scandalous and offensive" conduct, was enough to debar any one from sitting in a kirk judicatory, till exculpated. Mr Douglas answered that no one could be either debarred or exculpated, till there was an authority nominated to debar or exculpate. Mr Samuel Rutherford then desired to give in a paper to be read, but he was told that no paper could be heard till a moderator was chosen. At last, Mr Douglas was chosen moderator by a majority, but he could preserve no moderation. Some insisted that the conduct of the late Commission should be tried in the first instance; others that they should, before all things, proceed to examine the writs that had been presented; and a third party wished a conference for restoring peace and amity among themselves. The majority determined upon examining the writs; and they were not long in finding that those of P. Gillespie, and some other members of his party, were invalid, on the ground that having been guilty

of opposing the public resolutions, they were, on that account, by law, ineligible to seats.

The above proceedings occupied four days of the Assembly's sitting, namely, till Saturday evening, the 19th inst. Next night, a report reached St Andrews, that the English (who, as we have seen, had crossed the Forth without opposition a few days before), had conquered a division of the royal army on the morning of that day. This was at Dunfermline, which is more than forty miles from St Andrews; and the enemy was not likely to go to St Andrews, while the royal army lay so near them at Stirling. Notwithstanding, the members of the Assembly took the alarm, and to avoid encroaching on the sanctity of the Sabbath, "they met at 12 hours at night of the Lord's day." The object of this hasty meeting was to adjourn to some other town, farther removed from the opposing armies. Dundee was fixed on, and the Tuesday following was appointed for the day of re-assembling; but before adjourning, the opposition party gave in a protest signed by twenty-two of their number, the chief of whom were Andrew Cant, James Guthrie, Patrick Gillespie, and Samuel Rutherford. They pronounced the Assembly an unlawful one, and refused to abide by its decisions, on the pleas that members duly elected were refused, that others had been hindered from appearing, and that the King's letter, and his Commissioner, had overawed their deliberations.

On their re-assembling at Dundee, they took the Protest into consideration; but the protesters being all absent, no one appeared in behalf of it. The Commissioner suggested that they ought to support the honour of the Court, by interposing his Majesty's authority; but the Moderator intimated that, agreeably to the laws of the Kirk, it behoved them to treat the matter ecclesiastically; and then called upon the members to declare their opinion of the Protest. By all who spoke, it was pronounced to be deserving of the highest censure; and the Moderator himself declared, that "he thought it no hard matter to evince the protestation to be the highest breach of the Covenant

that ever was, since the work of the Reformation began." Here was a proof of the ambiguity of their vaunted Covenant, that while these two parties professed to adhere to it most rigidly, they accused each other of departing from it ! The majority then cited the protesting ministers to the bar, and, though not present, deposed three of their number, Guthrie, Gillespie, and Simson, and suspended a fourth, one James Nasmyth. Some of the charges brought against these delinquents were, "that they did publicly preach, and speak against the proceedings both of the Church and State, and were ringleaders in the matter of the Remonstrance and Protestation." For the rest of the protesters, the Commission of the General Assembly was appointed to deal with them, and, *if they could not be convinced, to process them.*¹

After two days sitting, and dispatching the above business, they were alarmed, a second time, by rumours of the near approach of Cromwell's army, and hastily broke up their meeting ; though, in reality, the English were not nearer than before ; and if they had been, there is no reason to think that they would have troubled them, any more than they would have troubled the ministers of Edinburgh in the September preceding. They were too busy watching the motions of the King's army in the neighbourhood of Stirling, to give themselves any concern about a General Assembly of the Kirk at Dundee. In truth, they would be rather pleased than otherwise to see its members wasting their efforts on each other, instead of directing those efforts against the invaders of their country. There was no need for the English to do that against the Assembly which the Assembly was doing against itself.

The acts of this St Andrews and Dundee Assembly made the breach wider than ever between the two parties ; so much so, that the validity or nullity of that assembly became afterwards a sort of party question among the ministers of the Kirk ; the Resolutioners contending for the former, the Protesters for the latter.² These protes-

¹ Lamont's Diary, p. 33.

² I have before me a work of more than 300 pages, published by a Protester

ters, by their influence with their parishioners, when they returned home, used every endeavour to thwart the measures both of Kirk and State. So far were they from praying for the King, and the success of his army, that all their sermons were directed against the sins of his father's house, and his own malignity. This could not fail to aid Cromwell's cause, and damage that of the King, and thereby contributed to the disasters which followed. And this also accounts for the greater favour shewn to this party by the English, when they subsequently became masters of all Scotland. To this party the enthusiastic Livingstone adhered, though his friend Douglas was the leader of the opposite one. In a letter, dated at Ancrum, the end of July this year, he exclaims,—“ O ! what matter of praise is it that the Lord hath prepared for himself a testimony at this Assembly !” Meaning that his party had given in the protest we have mentioned, which he makes no doubt is “ the doing of the Lord ;” and so he runs on in the same extravagant style to the end of the letter.

The Resolution party of the St Andrews Assembly (in a communication which they made to the English Presbyterians in the following month), thus speak of their opponents :—“ We need not warn you, dear brethren (seeing some among ourselves, under the specious name of the godly party, have carried on a devilish design of undoing Kirk and State, and setting up a boundless toleration and arbitrary government), to beware of misinformation from such men to take impression upon you. Their actions at home (to sail every wind, and roll every stone for their own advantage, and prejudice of the public), induceth us to believe that they have not been idle towards you ; but active by their emissaries and papers to abuse you with misreports, and to prejudice you against our proceedings ; but we

in 1652 (but *where* is not said) contending, in a most tedious and dry discourse, for “ the nullity of the pretended Assembly at St Andrews and Dundee.” The book is no longer of any interest, but I waded through it in the hope of gathering from it some new historical facts, in which, however, I was disappointed. Though written by a Protester, it is done with considerable candour ; there are but few abusive words ; the style is good, and the spelling astonishingly accurate.

are confident that ye who have had so great proof of the faithfulness of the judicatories of the Kirk in guarding warily against enemies on both hands, as well Malignants as Sec-taries, have not suffered yourselves to believe evil of your brethren; and we do earnestly beseech you to beware that the trust which any of them have had from us, and the estimation they had among you, while they were about the discharge of that trust,¹ be not inductive of your being now deceived by those whose principles and practices, whatever their intentions be, tend to the giving up of you and us unto the avowed enemies of Christ's kingdom."²

The other party did not neglect to retaliate in still stranger terms, in the November after, in a pamphlet which they published, called "A Discovery, after some search, of the Sins of the Ministers;" but as this extends beyond the period to which I have limited myself, I shall take no farther notice of it.

I have, however, one more remark to make concerning these Protesters, namely, that they were the persons who, after the Restoration, gave so much trouble to the civil government. Our sympathy is claimed for them on the ground of their having been persecuted, though they themselves, as we have seen, had persecuted with still more severity, when they had the power in their hands. But however we may admire the firmness with which they adhered to their opinions, and however we may condemn the policy of those who sought to convert them by violent means, there is one thing which must forever destroy their claim to the crown of martyrdom, and that is, the impatience with which they submitted to their punishment, and the armed resistance which they offered to the legal authority which inflicted it. "If when we do well, and suffer for it, and take it *patiently*, this (but nothing short of this), is acceptable with God." I am far from ad-

¹ Alluding, I suppose, to some of the Protesting party having been Commissioners for the Kirk to the Westminster Assembly of Divines, some years before this, such as Samuel Rutherford and Johnston of Warriston.

² Peterkin's Records of the Kirk of Scotland, p. 638.

mitting that these men "did well;" but supposing it, it is certain that they yielded only when they could not help themselves, and that they would have retaliated on their opponents if they could, and *did* retaliate *when* they could. But such conduct is not in accordance with the precepts of the Gospel, nor with the example of its Divine Author. At the same time, I think these men followed up their republican religion to its natural results.

But we must now return to the field of battle near Dunfermline, where Cromwell, with his wonted good fortune, had obtained an easy victory over a large detachment of the royalist forces. This seems to have caused considerable perplexity in the main army at Stirling. Anxious to redeem their loss, they left their entrenchments and marched towards Dunfermline; but hearing that the enemy was coming to meet them, they returned and occupied their former position. Finding this was a false alarm, they again, after two days, marched for Dunfermline, and once more fell back upon Torwood. These marchings and counter marchings betrayed a want of generalship, and discouraged the soldiers, who thought their leaders were insufficient, and that many favourable opportunities of attacking the enemy had been neglected. "Good occasions of fighting were neglected by the cowardice or treachery of their fanatic generals, and the best and bravest of their troops sent upon desperate and ill-concerted exploits; but the worst of all was, that they were in perpetual division among themselves, and all their counsels and designs betrayed to the enemy."¹

This was a deplorable state of things, after all that the King and his supporters had done to strengthen the army at Stirling. But though we have no history of the divisions here and elsewhere alluded to, yet there can be no doubt that they existed to a great extent; and must have arisen from the discordant materials of which the army was composed—English and Scots, Lowlanders and Highlanders, Covenanters and Anti-Covenanters, Malignants and Pres-

¹ Sir Ewen Cameron's Memoirs, p. 94.

byterians, Resolutioners, and Protesters. Under these disheartening circumstances, Charles and his principal officers held a council of war; upon which, they came to the serious determination of giving the slip to the Sectarian army, and marching southwards, with a view to pass into England, in the hope of stirring up that country in their favour. "Though the army was miserably rent into factions, Argyll alone opposed the measure. He argued, that it was ungenerous to abandon the Scots, who had first offered the King an asylum, and supported him as their monarch; that the English army might still be prevented from bringing matters to the issue of a battle, and that another winter's campaign would probably prove fatal to it; but that as there was no rising in England, and little could be calculated on, the Scottish army would, unsupported, be inevitably soon forced to an engagement, under all the disadvantages of fighting in a foreign country, when they must have provoked the inhabitants by living at free quarters."¹

The event certainly proved that this reasoning was just; and we know, from Cromwell's own admission, that sickness then prevailed among his troops, that his supplies of all kinds were falling short, and that he would not have risked another winter in Scotland.²

This appears, among other documents, from the following letter addressed by Cromwell to the President of the Council of State, probably from Queensferry, and dated 26th July.

"MY LORD,—I am able to give you no more account than what you have by my last, only we have now in Fife about thirteen or fourteen thousand horse and foot. The enemy is at his old lock, and lieth in and near Stirling, where we cannot come to fight him, except he please, or we go upon too manifest hazards, he having very strongly laid himself, and having a very great advantage there, where we hear he hath lately gotten great provisions of meal, and reinforcement of his strength out of the north,

¹ Brodie's History of the British Empire, iv. p. 304.

² Carey's Memorials, ii. p. 392.

under Marquis Huntley. It is our business still to wait upon God, to shew us our way how to deal with this subtle enemy, which I hope he will. Our forces on this side of the river are not very many, wherefore I have sent for Colonel Rich's, and shall appoint them, with the forces under Colonel Sanders, to embody close upon the borders, and to be in readiness to join with those left on this side the Firth, or to be for the security of England, as occasion shall offer, there being little use of them where they be, as we know.

“ Your soldiers begin to fall sick, through the wet weather which has lately been ; it is desired, therefore, that the recruits of foot determined may rather come sooner in time than usually, and may be sure to be full in numbers according to your appointment, whereof great failure has lately been. For the way of raising them, it is wholly submitted to your pleasure ; and we hearing you rather choose to send us volunteers than pressed men, shall be very glad you go that way.

“ Our spades are spent to a very small number ; we desire, therefore, that of the five thousand tools we lately sent for, at the least three thousand of them may be spades, they wearing most away in our works, and being most useful. Our horse arms, especially our pots, are come to a very small number ; it is desired we may have a thousand backs and breasts, and fifteen hundred pots. We have left us in store but four hundred pair of pistols, two hundred saddles, six hundred pikes, two thousand and thirty muskets, whereof thirty snaphancies.¹ These are our present stores ; and not knowing what you have sent us by this fleet that is coming, we desire that we may be considered therein. Our cheese and butter is our lowest store of victual. We were necessitated to pay the soldiery moneys now at their going over into Fife, whereby the treasury is much exhausted, although we desire to husband it what we can.

“ This being the principal time of action, we desire your lordship to take a principal care that the money may be supplied us with all possible speed, and those other things

¹ Muskets with triggers or *snappers*.

herewith mentioned, your affairs so necessarily requiring the same.

“ The castle of Ennisgarvey (Inchgarvey), which lieth in the river, almost in the midway between the North and South Ferry (commonly called Queen’s Ferry), was delivered to us on Thursday last; they marched away with their swords and baggage only, leaving us sixteen cannon, and all their other arms and ammunition,—I remain, &c.”¹

While the chiefs of the royal army were debating about their march into England, the Duke of Hamilton wrote the following letter to his niece (who afterwards succeeded to his estates), from Stirling, the 28th July.

“ DEAR NIECE,—Indeed I know not what to say to you. I would fain say something more encouraging than my last, but I cannot lie. Our condition is no better since that time. We have lost 1000 men (I fix twice that number) from our army. Since the enemy shuns fighting with us, except upon disadvantages, we must either starve, disband, or go with a handful of men into England. This last seems to be the least ill; yet it appears very desperate to me, for more reasons than I will trouble you with. [Here follow some pious reflections.] Dear niece, I should never be weary to talk with you, though this be a subject I cannot speak of well; but even that happiness is bereft me by the importunate crowd of persons that are now in the room with me, grudging the time I take in telling you, that while I am, I am yours, &c. &c.”

Before setting out on his march for England, the King borrowed £200 sterling from the town of Stirling, which sum the Magistrates had much difficulty in raising; so low an ebb had the credit and prosperity of the country fallen, in consequence of the civil broils which, during the twelve previous years, had been wasting its resources!

On Thursday the 31st the royal army left Stirling, and their entrenchments in its vicinity, all being permitted to stay behind who disapproved of the southern expedition, or who had no taste for it. The Marquis of Argyll, who had long been the chief ruler of the Presbyterians, but was

¹ Carey’s Memorials, ii. p. 288.

latterly not hearty in the King's service, from his jealousy of Hamilton, was the chief person of those who availed themselves of this permission, though his friends assert that he would have accompanied the King but for his wife's indisposition. Besides him, the Marquis of Huntly, and the Earls of Leven, Callender, Sutherland, Wemyss, Crawford, &c., remained for the purpose of defending their country against the farther encroachments of the English. But in this respect they did little or nothing. Even the castle of Stirling surrendered to General Monk within a fortnight after the King had quitted it, and the whole of Scotland soon after followed its example.

Cromwell meantime, not aware of this movement of the royalists, had marched from Burntisland to Perth, which town he took on the 2d August. Here it was that he first received the intelligence of the King and his army having marched in the direction of England. On this he immediately returned, crossed the Forth at Queensferry on the 4th inst., and went to Leith to concert measures for pursuing them. From this town he wrote a letter, on the same day, to the Speaker, stuffed with his usual cant, in which he states, in substance, that finding no means of drawing the enemy from their entrenchments, and being most anxious to bring the campaign to a speedy termination, as he could not risk another winter in so severe a climate, he had purposely marched to Perth, in order to cut off their supplies, and thus force them to one alternative or the other. He then assures the Parliament that he will pursue the enemy with the utmost speed; and desires that, on their part, they will call out all the disposable force of the Commonwealth to co-operate with his endeavours. His next measure was to order Lambert, with 800 horse, to follow in the rear of the royal army, while General Harrison and Colonel Rich, with 3000 horse, should hover upon and harrass their east flank. He himself was to follow in a few days with the main body. General Monk he left behind with another division of troops, to complete the reduction of Scotland, with particular orders to use the utmost severity against all who should oppose him; and, above all, not to permit

any undue licence of the ministers in their pulpits or kirk courts. With what exactitude and success Monk obeyed those instructions is well known, though it does not fall within my province to relate.

The Scottish army, amounting (according to Sir James Turner, who belonged to it) to 9000 foot, and 4000 horse (other authorities make it more), marched, with all due speed, through Lanarkshire and Dumfriesshire, passing by Biggar and Moffat. At Moffat they were joined by about 300 horse belonging to the Duke of Hamilton, which, however, was only a part of what that nobleman had ordered; but no more had been able to assemble, owing to that part of the country where his estates lay being occupied by the enemy. At the castle of Boghall, near Biggar, Lesley summoned the English garrison to surrender; but the governor returned for answer, that he held it for the Commonwealth of England, and would not yield till compelled. On the 5th August they came to Woodhouse, on the border of England, from which place the King published "A Declaration of general pardon and oblivion to all his loving subjects of the kingdom of England, and dominion of Wales, that would desist from assisting the usurped authority of the pretended Commonwealth of England, and return to the obedience they owed to their lawful King, and to the ancient happy government of the kingdom; except only Oliver Cromwell, Henry Ireton, John Bradshaw, John Cook (pretended solicitor), and all others who did actually sit and vote in the murder of his royal father." And, lastly, the declaration set forth, that "this service being done, the Scotch army should quietly retire, that so all armies might be disbanded, and a lasting peace settled with religion and righteousness."

A copy of this declaration was sent enclosed in a letter to Thomas Andrews, then Lord Mayor of London; but instead of producing the desired effect, it was, by order of the English Parliament, publickly burnt by the hangman at the Old Exchange, and their own declaration issued instead of it, with beat of drum and sound of trumpet, by which his Majesty (to whom they would give no other name than

Charles Stewart), "his agents and abettors" were styled "traitors, rebels, and public enemies."

During the march to the English border little discipline, it seems, was observed by the Scottish army: "We got quickly to English ground," says Sir James Turner, "but with a great deal of mischief to all those poor Scotch people by whose dwellings we marched; robbing and plundering being used by the soldiers to admiration and inhumanity."¹ But when they got into England they judged it expedient to change their system, for then the discipline became so strict, that if any soldier was convicted of robbery he was immediately shot.

On the 6th of August they came to Carlisle, which, for form's sake, the King summoned to surrender. From a place called Dorton, the Earl of Lauderdale thus writes on the 7th, to Lord Balcarra: "Yesterday, I wrote to you by the treasurer—and sent you the King's declaration. I told you that his Majesty wrote and invited the Governor of Carlisle to his duty, but he vouchsafed no answer to the King; only he wrote to Leighton (who, by a letter, thought to have reasoned him into obedience), reproached him with leaving the Parliament, and concluded with his own professions of loyalty to the Commonwealth of England. We passed the river (the Eden) yesterday, and drew up the army on this side Rokeby, where the King was proclaimed King of England by Mr Jackson, whom the King created King-at-Arms for that day and occasion; and, after the ceremony, knighted him. The army was drawn up; and Jackson, attended by the nobility of both kingdoms, after prayer, did, in the name of the kingdom of England, pro-

¹ "August 21. 1651.—The which day, complaints coming in to the brethren of horrible insolencies, abuses, and plunderings of some soldiers of this new levy, and of a fearful murder committed by one of the soldiers, who, for no cause, hath murdered a gracious young man in the parish of Lesmahago, the brethren thought it their duty to desire Mr John Hume to go to the committee of the shire, and there to make known to them the foresaid particulars, and desire to do them justice."—*Presbytery Book of Lanark*, p. 96.

I have no doubt this is to be viewed as a confirmation of Sir James Turner's account, for though the army must have passed through Lanarkshire on the 2d and 3d of August, yet there had been no meeting of presbytery till the 21st, to take cognizance of the disorders then committed.

claim King Charles the Second. All the trumpets sounded, drums beat, and cannons shot. The people expresses great good affections. This morning, warrants are going out towards Penrith, where we hope to be to-night. His Majesty went close to Carlisle with eighty horse. A guard of the enemy was advanced on this side the bridge; but Sir W. Blackett, with twenty horse, seconded by Ross, beat in their party and reserve, killed one, hurt some, and Colonel Ogan had his horse killed. They gave us some cannonshot, but we got no hurt. This is all I can say of public. We long to hear from you, and what is become of Oliver. For God's sake, send to us; and above all things, haste the levies in all Scotland, and make an army to follow us. Send for powder, and let it come to the Isle of Man, which must be our magazine."

Next day, the same Lord thus writes from Carlton near Penrith, to his wife, who was then in Holland: "As for news, I can tell you little. His Majesty is thus far advanced into England with a very good army, able, by the blessing of God, to do his business. They are, I dare say, near double the number of those that the King of Sweden entered Germany with, if they be not more. As soon as we came into England, his Majesty was by an Englishman (whom he made King-at-Arms for that day) proclaimed King of England, on the head of the army, with great acclamation of the army, and shooting off all the cannon of the army. Then yesterday, he was proclaimed here in Penrith, and will be, in all the market towns where we march. Never was an army so regular as we have been since we came into England; I dare say we have not taken the worth of a sixpence: and whatever you hear of our misfortunes in Fife, or whatever our enemies print or write, trust me this is the best Scots army that ever I saw, and I hope shall prove best. All those that were unwilling to hazard all in this cause with their King, have, on specious pretence, (most of them) left us. This is a natural purge, and will do us much good. Nothing of action yet, except the driving of some small parties, with which I will not trouble you. One thing I cannot forget; this morning, my Lord

Howard of Escrick's son came in to us from the enemy, with his whole troop: his Majesty received him graciously, and immediately knighted him. He is the first, but I am confident a few days will shew us more that will return to their duty."

Again, to Lord Balcarras, Lauderdale writes thus: "I cannot neglect any occasion to let you know his Majesty and his army are well (God be praised!) never men were more hearty for all their toil. We might have men enough, if we could get arms; some we get. This poor place hath given in a day's bread and cheese, which is our first supply in England. We have a strong party advanced to Kendal for more provisions, whither we are to march to-morrow, God willing. More I would write, but it is very probable my friends shall not be the first that shall see this, for it goes a way I am not sure of, and through an enemy's quarters a long way. Yesterday, we had a small party, commanded by Captain Inglis, of the regiment that was Riccarton's, who discovered about twenty of the enemy. He sent a corporal and six horse who drove them before them. Then he advanced himself alone, and only two with him: they overtook them at a gate which the enemy were making fast; so the enemy made haste off: but Inglis received a shot in his leg, which I hope is nothing. Upon this, and the intelligence that two thousand horse of the enemy were near, the right wing of our horse advanced very fast, half way to Appleby: but finding it impossible to overtake them, seeing they were then the length of Brough, we returned; having only the advantage to get hot coats, and mine was as hot as ever in my life."

Lord Wentworth thus writes to Mr Crofts, afterwards Lord Crofts: "By God's grace we are come as far as Penrith in Cumberland, with a good army of fourteen or fifteen thousand foot, and about six thousand horse, all absolutely at the King's command, as much as any army I ever saw under the command of his father."

The Duke of Hamilton thus writes to the same Mr Crofts, in a less confident strain, and perhaps with a presentiment of his approaching fate: "Dear Will,—The last

thing I did was to drink your health, with Lord Thomas, Dan. O'Neile, and Lauderdale, who are now all laughing at the ridiculousness of our condition. We have quit Scotland, being scarce able to maintain it; and yet we grasp at all, and nothing but all will satisfy us, or to lose all. I confess I cannot tell you whether our hopes or fears are greatest: but we have one stout argument—despair; for we must now either stoutly fight it, or die. All the rogues have left us, I shall not say whether for fear or disloyalty; but all now with his Majesty are such as will not dispute his commands.”

On the 9th of August, the army advanced as far as Appleby and Kendal, resting at a spot on the road called Black Dub, between Crosby-Ravensworth and Shap. Concerning this spot, I need do no more than mention that, a few years ago, an obelisk was erected there, “to commemorate,” says the newspaper account, “the circumstance of King Charles II. with the Scottish army having dined there, and drunk of the waters of the spring, on their march southwards, a few days previous to the battle of Worcester. This place is one of the most solitary and dreary that can well be imagined, surrounded on all sides by unenclosed heath; and since the formation of the road over Shap-Fells, is seldom seen except by the Shepherd or the sportsman. However, though now so silent and deserted, it was once the great thoroughfare from Scotland, through Lancashire, to the metropolis of England. On one side of the obelisk is the following inscription:—‘Here at Black-Dub, the source of the Egremont, Charles II. regaled his army on their march from Scotland, August 8th, A.D. 1651.’” The date, I have no doubt, should have been the 9th.

I must here go a little out of my way, to give a very characteristic letter from the regicide Harrison, dated Newcastle, 6th August, and addressed to the Committee of the County of York: “Gentlemen,—The Lord having so ordered it that our army are masters of Fife, by which the enemy gives up their expectation of Scotland for lost, they are necessitated, for want of provisions, as their last refuge, to run for England, taking the opportunity of our

armies being on the other side the great river ; and although there be a mighty spirit of terror from God upon them, so that they are ready to fly when none follows them, yet their large promises to their soldiers of plunder in England, bears up the spirits of divers to make another adventure for it, forgetting the large testimony the Lord formerly gave against them. It now remains, that you, and every good man, give all diligence to improve your interests, and all possible means God may put into your hands, to give a check to this vile generation, until our army may come up, who will follow hard after them, that the good of the land may not be devoured by such caterpillars.

“ I have with me about three thousand horse, which I shall endeavour to dispose of as God in his love and wisdom shall please to instruct me ; and wherewith I hope to give the enemy some trouble, if some foot could be speedily raised to break down bridges, or stop some passes upon them. However, considering the battle is the Lord’s, and not ours, and it is alike to him to save by few or many, I hope we may be useful in this juncture, though we be few, mean, and none more unworthy.

“ The Lord quicken you, me, and all that profess to fear him, to give all diligence in our stations to quit ourselves as the friends of Christ, against the men that will not have him to reign, though God hath sworn he will set his Son upon his holy hill, and they that oppose him shall be broke in pieces as a potter’s vessel. The enemy’s hope is, that Englishmen will be so mad as to join with them (seeing they have lost their credit with their own countrymen) ; which we hope God will prevent in a good measure by your hands, and also lift up a standard against them ; wherein not doubting your best assistance, and (much more) the loving kindness of God, I remain, &c. T. HARRISON.”

What delusion could equal this ? How could Charles II. be said, at this time, to be opposing the reign of Christ ? Or how could such men as Harrison be said to be establishing it ? Might not another text of Scripture be much more correctly put into the mouths of the parliamentary leaders, when fighting against their lawful king,—“ This is the son,

come let us kill him, that the inheritance may be ours." It is amusing to find this fifth-monarchy fanatic, the very next day, writing to the President of the Council at Westminster, expressing his great desire to have "4000 or 5000 *godly men, well mounted!*"¹

Little occurred in the march through the north of England to encourage the royal army, but, on the contrary, much to dishearten it. The English commonalty were, for the most part, prepossessed against the King, and active in reinforcing the troops under Cromwell and Lambert, who were now joined by General Harrison and Colonel Rich. The Scots themselves were divided respecting their unhappy Covenant, which seemed destined to do mischief wherever it obtruded itself. The stricter Presbyterians were bent on enforcing it upon all whom they could reach; while the King and his Episcopalian friends thought it wholly inexpedient to call attention to it among the English. Thus, dissension was produced among those whose only chance of success lay in being united.

When the royal army had advanced a little farther, General Massey was sent into the south-west of Lancashire, for the purpose of stirring up the loyal inhabitants in favour of the King; and particularly of co-operating with the Earl of Derby, who was then on his way from the Isle of Man with a small force for his Majesty's service. But Massey happened to be a Presbyterian; and those divines of the Kirk who were in the army, gave him their secret instructions to proclaim the King, and the whole army's zeal for the Covenant, and their resolution to prosecute the true intent of this engagement; and they forbade him to receive any recruits, men or officers, except such as would subscribe the Covenant.² When the King and his friends heard of this they were very angry; but though the above instructions were annulled, the evil caused by them could not be undone.

¹ Carey's Memorials, pp, 296, 302.

² Collier's Ecc. History. It is remarkable that when, three years before this, the Duke of Hamilton marched an army into England for the support of Charles I., the Covenant was even then the cause of jealousy and dissension among its ranks.

Many of the English, at the very rumour of the Covenant being dominant in the royal camp, kept back, when they would otherwise have offered their services. And on the other hand, when the zealous supporters of that bond found that the King and his party paid so little reverence to their idol, many of them deserted, and returned to Scotland. Thus every thing fell out unfortunately for the King. The adherents of the Covenant left him because he would not worship it as they did ; and its enemies refrained from joining him, because they knew he had sworn to uphold it.

The English force under Lambert kept so closely in pursuit of the Scots, that they entered Penrith the same day that the latter quitted it. At Appleby, a slight show of resistance was offered by some squadrons of the enemy's horse, but they were easily dispersed. At Warrington, a more formidable opposition was made to the Scots when attempting to cross the bridge over the Mersey. The stone bridge had been destroyed, but the royalists laid wooden planks over the broken piers, and the King himself was the first to cross amidst the applause of his army. This was done so boldly and so rapidly, that the English Generals, though they had 9000 men, withdrew after an ineffectual resistance ; as Lambert himself acknowledges in his parliamentary dispatch, where he says, " We gave the enemy opposition till we saw cause to draw off, securing the retreat of our foot by parties of horse." The Duke of Hamilton advised that the English should be pursued, but this was overruled by Lesley ; so that the only result of this partial success was to enable the Scots to push on to Worcester, the scene of their final overthrow.

When the army arrived at Newport in Shropshire, the King sent a summons, dated 20th August, to Colonel Mackworth, the Governor of Shrewsbury, to deliver up that town and castle to himself ; offering him a pardon for his past rebellion, and promising him such a reward for his obedience, as he might afterwards have it in his power to bestow. The answer, which was of the same date, contained a civil enough, but positive refusal to comply with the summons.

About the same time, his Majesty sent a similar demand to Sir Thomas Middleton, Governor of Chirk Castle, in the same county; but this gentleman was both less civil and less humane than the Governor of Shrewsbury; for not only did he return no answer to the royal message, but he caused the messenger to be seized, and sent prisoner to Wrexham; and he was afterwards most unjustifiably hanged at Chester, for obeying his lawful King.

To add to these discouragements, General Lesley (who was certainly incompetent for his office, and has even been suspected of treachery),¹ grew despondent of final success, and did not shew that activity and enterprise which are so necessary to keep up the spirits of an army in an enemy's country. There were also jealousies and misunderstandings between him and some of his officers. The Duke of Buckingham, being of higher rank than he, and, in his own estimation, an abler general, wished to supersede him in his command, and became sullen and discontented, because the King refused to gratify him.

In short, Charles's army, unsupported from without, and distracted by jealousy within, was much in the same condition with that of his grand-nephew Prince Charles, ninety-four years after, when marching in nearly the same direction, and with the same object in view; the result too being also the same, with this difference, that the latter returned to be defeated and dispersed in Scotland, while the former went on to be defeated and dispersed in England; the leaders, in both instances, effecting their escape to France through numberless dangers and difficulties; and aided by numerous adherents of the humblest rank in society, not one of whom, though tempted by a large reward, ever entertained the thought of betraying them.²

¹ He was created Lord *Newark* after the Restoration; but the King was told that he should rather have hanged him for his *old work*.

² There were other points of resemblance between the two fugitives, as we shall see more fully hereafter. Flora Macdonald corresponded with Miss Lane, and the seven men of Glenmoriston to the five Penderills. The periods also occupied in the two expeditions were the same, extending from the summer of one year till the autumn of the following year. Another curious coincidence was, that when the royal wanderers were put to their shifts for pro-

When the King quitted Scotland, he had written to the Earl of Derby, then in the Isle of Man, to meet him in Lancashire with as many men as he could muster ; and that gallant nobleman had met him accordingly with 60 horse and 260 foot before the army arrived at Warrington. But from that place it was thought proper to send him back into Lancashire with 200 horse, consisting chiefly of gentlemen, with a view to raise the well affected in that quarter, and bring them to the army. This expedition proved unfortunate ; for though the Earl got recruits to the number of some hundreds, they fell in, on the 25th of the month, with Colonel Lilbourne near Wigan, who, having a better disciplined or superior force, attacked and defeated them.¹ Lord Widdrington, Sir Thomas Tildesby, and some of Derby's best officers were killed, many were made prisoners, while the Earl himself, being severely wounded, was forced to fly from the scene of action. At Wigan, observing a door open, he threw himself from his horse, and sprang into the passage. A female barred the door behind him, the pursuers were checked for an instant, and when they began to search the house, he had escaped through the window. Weak from fatigue and loss of blood, he wandered in a southerly direction, concealing himself by day and travelling by night, till he found a safe retreat in a retired mansion called Boscobel House (afterwards the temporary asylum

visions, as they often were, it was found that the Princes were the most skilful *cooks* of their respective parties. Finally, both evinced great bravery and presence of mind in battle, and bore up under their sufferings and privations with astonishing fortitude ; but, having ill-regulated minds, the one afterwards yielded to the seductions of dissipation in his prosperity, and the other sunk into a reckless intemperance in his adversity.

" Britain may well exult at the different conduct which her people exhibited to their fugitive monarchs ; and contrast, with the arrest of Louis (XVI.) at Varennes, the fidelity of the western counties to Charles II., after the battle of Worcester, and the devotion of the Scotch Highlanders to Prince Charles after the defeat at Culloden. The secret of the latter's concealment was entrusted to above 200 persons, most of them in the very poorest circumstances. £30,000 was offered for his apprehension ; confiscation and death pronounced against his adherents ; yet not one Highlander was faithless to his Sovereign." Alison's *Hist. of Europe*, ii. p. 244.

¹ Pennant says, that Lilbourne had 3000 troops in all, while Derby had only 600 horse.

of the King himself), the property of Mr Gifford, a Romanist and a royalist. There he was received and secreted by William Penderill and his wife, the servants entrusted with the care of the mansion; and having recovered his strength, was conducted by the former to Worcester, where he arrived a few days after the King had entered it.

Meanwhile Cromwell was following the royal army, not in the direct line of its march, but more to the eastward, with the intention probably of hindering its approach to the capital, where the utmost consternation prevailed among the upholders of the Parliament. "Both the city and country," says Mrs Hutchinson, "were all amazed, and doubtful of their own and the Commonwealth's safety. Some could not hide very pale and unmanly fears, and were in such distraction of spirit that it much disturbed their counsels." Even Bradshaw, "stout-hearted as he was, trembled for his neck." And what added to their perplexity and consternation was, that they suspected Cromwell of having intentionally allowed the King to pass into England, in order to serve some ambitious design of his own—so little confidence had they in him, notwithstanding the extreme piety of the language which he had addressed to them in his official letters!¹ But there seems to have been no ground for this suspicion. Cromwell marched by Newcastle, Rippon, Doncaster, Mansfield, Nottingham, Coventry, and Warwick, at which last place, he learnt that the King had stopped at Worcester, where he intended to remain. He then concentrated his forces at Kineton, and having been by this time joined by General Fleetwood, he proceeded to unite their combined force with that of Lambert and Harrison, previous to a united attack on the royalists.

Worcester had always been well affected during the civil wars, and was the last garrison town in all England which had held out in favour of Charles I.; and at this very time, many of the gentry of the town and neighbourhood, who had been arrested on account of their loyalty, were imprisoned within its walls. The parliamentary garrison, amounting to 500 horse, knowing the temper of the inhabitants,

¹ Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson, p. 356.

provided for their safety by flight, as soon as they heard of the approach of the royal army ; the immediate consequence of which was, that when the King arrived on the 22d, the citizens, headed by their mayor Mr Thomas Lisens, joyfully opened their gates to him, and the next day proclaimed him King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland. They also set at liberty all their political prisoners, supplied the Scottish army with every thing needful after their long and rapid march, and commenced the repair of their ramparts, which the Parliament had ordered to be dismantled.

Here, then, Charles determined to stop, and risk the success of his English invasion on the defence of this loyal city. On the day after his arrival he issued a manifesto, calling on " all the nobility, gentry, and others, of what degree and condition soever of our county of Worcester, from 16 to 60, to appear in their persons, and with any horses, arms, and ammunition they may have or can procure, at Pitchcroft, near the city, on Tuesday next, the 26th of this instant month, when myself will be present that day, to dispose of such of them as shall think fit for our service in the war," &c. &c.¹

On Sunday the 24th, Mr Crosby, an eminent divine in Worcester, preached before his Majesty in the Cathedral Church ; and in his " bidding prayer " before the sermon, he used the canonical words, " and herein I require you most especially to pray for the King's most excellent Majesty, our Sovereign Lord Charles, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and Supreme Governor in these realms, over all persons, in all causes, as well ecclesiastical as temporal." At these words the more rigid Presbyterians took great offence, and cautioned Mr Crosby to be more wary in future how he expressed himself as to the spiritual power of the King, because they acknowledged no head of the Church but Jesus Christ himself. But in this objection they mistook the matter ; for the words of the prayer ascribe no more authority to the King than God himself gave to the Kings of Judah and Israel (bad men though some of these were), or

¹ Boscobel (Bohn's extra volume), p. 484.

than the Christian Church from the beginning gave to Emperors and Princes; and not nearly so much as the Presbyterian Kirk itself then gave, and still gives, to the Civil Magistrate.¹

On the 26th, agreeable to the tenor of the foregoing manifesto, about thirty English noblemen and gentlemen assembled at Pitchcroft, near Worcester; among whom were Lord Talbot (afterwards Earl of Shrewsbury), Sir Walter Blount, Sir John Packington, Sir Ralf Clare, &c., bringing with them about 200 horse. This was but a poor accession to the royal army, and proved that England was far from being yet hearty in the cause of her lawful King. Some of these were Roman Catholics, on whom the more rigid Presbyterians looked with ill-suppressed indignation; but their position was now so critical, that they could not with decency refuse to accept their assistance.

The 27th was kept as a solemn fast, and next day a general muster was made of all the troops belonging to the royal army. They were computed at no more than about 10,000 Scots and 2000 English. Here his Majesty was waited on by the celebrated Dr Henry Hammond, who had been residing at Sir John Packington's in that neighbourhood, and received from him, under his own handwriting, a declaration of his unshaken adherence to the Church of England. This declaration, that divine had been the more induced to solicit, on account of the rumours that were afloat respecting the Covenant.

Meanwhile Cromwell and his troops, amounting to more than double the number of the royalists, were pouring into the neighbourhood of Worcester from all quarters. Besides fortifying Worcester as well as their limited time permitted, the Scots had also fortified the suburb of St John, on the west of the city, and had erected a fort, which they called Fort Royal, on the east. They had also secured a bridge which crossed the Severn, seven miles below Worcester, called Upton Bridge, and placed General Massey to defend it.

This bridge, the English, under General Fleetwood, with

¹ Confession of Faith, chap. xxiii.—See p. 168 of this History.

a superior force, attacked on the 29th and captured; Massey being wounded, and compelled, with as many more as he could save, to fall back upon Worcester. Fleetwood marched next day to Powick, a village on the small river Teme, the bridge of which had been secured by the Scots, and was now defended by General Montgomery and Colonel George Keith. At this very bridge, in 1642, the brave Prince Rupert, with 500 Cavaliers, who had not time to put on their armour, defeated Colonel Sandys, who headed double that number of Roundhead cavalry cased in steel. But the fortune of war was now reversed.

Cromwell in person had taken up a position at Red-Hill, which is half-a-mile east of the city, and was erecting there a battery of guns, opposite the Scots garrison at Fort-Royal. The King's forces in the city determined upon interrupting him in this work; and accordingly, on the night of the 1st September, General Middleton and Colonel Sir William Keith with 1400 foot, wearing their shirts over their armour as a mark of distinction, suddenly sallied out upon Cromwell, drove him from his guns, and obtained a momentary possession of them; but their ammunition being spent, and Lesley's horse not coming up to their support as they should have done, and the enemy with fresh troops beginning to rally, they were compelled to retreat with severe loss into the city. One cause of this failure was, that a tailor in the town, of the name of Gives or Guyes, had sent secret intelligence to Cromwell of the intention to attack him on the night in question, informing him at the same time of the distinguishing dress to be worn by the assailants. This was discovered next morning, and the tailor hanged or shot for his treachery; but the English Parliament, to mark their sense of how much they owed to the traitor, subsequently settled £200 a year upon his widow. As soon as Cromwell had thus repulsed the assault made upon him, he took Fort-Royal, of which the fortifications were incomplete, put its garrison consisting of 1500 men to the sword, and turned its guns upon the retreating royalists.

On the morning of Wednesday the 3d September (the

anniversary of the battle of Dunbar), the King held a council of war on the top of the Cathedral, from which could be seen all that was going on in the surrounding country. It was then perceived that Fleetwood, whom we left at Powick, was making preparations for forcing the bridge at that village, and that Cromwell was bringing up a strong detachment of men from Red-Hill to assist him. Conceiving it to be of the utmost importance to protect this bridge, the King went down in person with a body of troops to inspect and strengthen its defences. Cromwell was at this time crossing the Severn by a bridge of boats, at a place called Bunshill, and soon made good his passage, in spite of a stout opposition from Colonel Pitscottie and 300 Highlanders, who were compelled to retreat. After the King had left Powick, the united Parliamentary forces attacked the defenders of the bridge, and carried it; taking Colonel Keith prisoner, and obliging Montgomery and his men to seek refuge within the walls of the city, after bravely defending themselves from hedge to hedge in their retreat. Fleetwood then advanced to the suburb of St John, which was defended by Major-General Dalzell, whom he forced to surrender, and crave quarter. Cromwell, meanwhile, having seen Fleetwood across the Teme, exclaimed "The Lord of Hosts be with you;" and recrossing the Severn, again joined the main army which was now endeavouring to force its way to the city by different approaches.

After the King had returned to Worcester, observing Cromwell at Perrywood, about a mile from the city, preparing to storm it; he, and the Dukes of Hamilton and Buckingham, Lord Grandison, Sir Alexander Forbes, and others, with a strong detachment of infantry, but with few horse, sallied out at the Sudbury gate to attack the enemy. The sally was made with so much steadiness and vigour that they drove him back, and captured some of his guns. But here, unhappily, Lesley again deceived his own people, by not coming up in time with the cavalry to their assistance. The result was, that the Duke of Hamilton was severely wounded, and obliged to be carried into the city; and though his wounds were carefully dressed, first by the

King's, and after the battle, by Cromwell's surgeon, yet he died on the 11th of this month, in the 35th year of his age, and was buried in Worcester Cathedral. In the same action, Sir John Douglas was mortally wounded. The rest of the troops, broken and disordered, retreated into the town. The King himself had one or two horses shot under him, and aided by Sir Alexander Forbes, had no small difficulty in finding his way back to the city on foot. As to this Sir Alexander, I find the following account of him : " He commanded a troop of horse raised by himself ; and when the King's horse was shot under him, he defended him by his troop ; and (while General Lesley seemed unconcerned, with his cloak muffled up to his chin, and beheld the rout of the King's troops), he kept the enemy at bay, mounted the King on his own horse, put a soldier's coat and a bloody handkerchief about him, and sending him safe off the field, he kept the enemy still engaged, till he was shot through both the calves of the legs. He lay among the dead till next day (some say longer) when, being observed to have life, he was taken care of by a lady in the neighbourhood, who ventured to shew him that kindness. The story of that lady's falling in love with him, and his concealing his being a married man till he was recovered, perhaps is fanciful."¹

The royalist sally having been thus repulsed, Cromwell was not long in effecting his ulterior object ; and as the royalists, in their retreat outside the walls, had to fight their way from hedge to hedge, so now they had equally to fight from street to street, inside the walls. In the Friars Street, his Majesty put off his armour, which was heavy and troublesome to him, and took a fresh horse ; and then, perceiving many of his foot soldiers beginning to throw down their arms, and decline fighting, he rode up and down among them, with his hat in his hand, entreating them to stand to their arms and fight like men ; at another time, he encouraged them, by reminding them of the goodness and justice of the cause they fought for ; but, seeing himself not

¹ Aberdeen and Banff Collections, Spalding Club, p. 331. What these concluding words refer to, I know not.

able to prevail, he added, "I had rather you would shoot me, than keep me alive to see the sad consequences of this fatal day."¹ The Earl of Rothes and Sir William Hamilton defended themselves with great courage on the Castle-hill, till they obtained conditions of surrender. Another party at the town hall, fought desperately for some hours, till most of them were killed or wounded. This resistance, together with the darkness of the night, and the desire of plunder, so far checked the advance of the enemy, that his Majesty, who had behaved with the utmost gallantry, but in vain attempted to grapple with such an overwhelming force, was enabled, when he saw that every thing was lost, to adopt measures for his personal safety. He returned with all speed to the house where he had been quartered, and took such of his treasures as he could conveniently carry with him; and just as the parliamentary Colonel Cibber was entering the front door, he and Lord Wilmot escaped by a back door, and striking into the most unfrequented lanes, rejoined General Lesley and about 3000 of his horse, with whom they got out of the city by St Martin's gate, at six o'clock in the evening.²

Cromwell, writing of this battle, says, "Indeed this hath been a glorious mercy, and as stiff a contest for four or five hours as I have ever seen;" and again, "Indeed it was a stiff business, I do not think we have lost 200 men. The dimensions of this mercy are above my thoughts. It is, for aught I know, a crowning mercy. Surely, if it be not, such a one we shall have, if this provoke those that are concerned in it to thankfulness, and the parliament to do the will of him who hath done his will for it and for the nation; whose good pleasure it is to establish the nation, and the change of the government, &c.,"—so anxious was he to interpret his present success into Heaven's approval of his conduct in overthrowing the monarchy! His actual loss was estimated at 500 regular troops, and 600 militia; while that of

¹ Boscobel, p. 490.

² Clarendon's account of the battle of Worcester, as well as of the King's subsequent adventures, is extremely inaccurate. In fact, there is no *one* account that can be relied upon. It is only by comparing carefully all of them together, that a complete and connected narrative can be made out.

the Scots, and their English supporters, was 15 colonels of horse, 21 of foot, 19 majors, 33 captains of horse, 72 of foot, 89 lieutenants, 96 cornets, 99 ensigns, 90 quarter-masters, 30 of the King's servants, nearly 3000 killed, and about double that number of prisoners ! In fact, scarcely any of the foot escaped, as they were enclosed in the streets of the town, and hemmed in on all sides by a numerous enemy. These, having been driven on the road to London, before the conqueror, like so many sheep, were in the end, like their ill-fated comrades at Dunbar, shipped to America, and sold to work as slaves in the plantations. To some of his personal friends Cromwell made a *present* of a Scots horse, and two Scots prisoners, the latter doubtless designed to be used as slaves, and to be as much subject to the orders of their master as the horse itself. "The horse he gave me," says Whitelock, "was a gallant young nag of Sir John Fenwick's breed. One of the Scots prisoners he gave me, seemed to be a gentleman of good quality, and he was of very good parts. I freely gave him his liberty, and the other likewise, and gave them their passes to go to their own homes."

Of the higher class of officers, who were made prisoners at Worcester, were Lords Kelly, Cleaveland, Cranston, Carnwath, Rothes, Spynie, Grandison,¹ Kenmuir, and Sinclair ; Sir John Packington, Sir Charles Cunningham, and Mr (afterwards Sir Robert) Fanshawe, the King's Secretary ; General Wandross, and Colonel Pitscottie. General Massey was wounded and taken, but subsequently escaped from the Tower ; as did General Middleton, who went into France, from whence he afterwards returned to Scotland in 1654, and headed an insurrection of royalists. The two last mentioned were particularly obnoxious to Cromwell, who had actually named a day for their trial and execution, before which time, the stratagems of their friends, to his great mortification, succeeded in rescuing them out of his hands. General Montgomery and Sir James Turner were also taken, but escaped. Finally, Colonel Legge, the ancestor

¹ Lord Grandison translated some of St Chrysostome's writings while in the Tower of London, and published them in 1654.

of the Dartmouth family, commonly called "Honest Will Legge," was made prisoner, but escaped from Coventry gaol, by changing clothes with his wife, who had been permitted to visit him.

Some writers have, ignorantly or malevolently, accused Charles of a base intention, seeing the desperate condition of his army at Worcester, of privately escaping to Scotland with his cavalry, leaving the infantry to their fate. Others again have asserted that he was in bed and asleep, during the hottest of the siege. I can find no authority for such accusations, and certainly they are wholly irreconcilable with all the contemporary accounts we have of his courage and enterprize.

General Lesley, as I have said, escaped from Worcester with 3000 horse; accompanied by the King, the Duke of Buckingham, the Lords Derby, Lauderdale, Leviston, Talbot, and Wilmot, Colonel Blague, Mr Darcey, and others. Before reaching Barbon's Bridge, which is about half-a-mile out of Worcester, they made several stands, and endeavoured to repel the pursuing enemy. But at the bridge, a consultation was held; and perceiving many of the troopers throwing off their arms and shifting for themselves, they were unanimously of opinion that the day was irrecoverably lost, and that all they had now to do was to save the King and themselves. "We had (says the King himself, in the narrative which he dictated to Pepys) such a number of veteran men with us, of the horse, that I strove, as soon as it was dark, to get from them; and though I could not get them to stand by me against the enemy, I could not get rid of them, now I had a mind to it." And again, "Some of the people of quality who were with me were very earnest that I should go to Lesley, and endeavour to go into Scotland; which I thought was absolutely impossible; knowing very well that the country would all rise upon us, and that men who had deserted me when they were in good order, would never stand to me when they had been beaten."¹

When it grew dark, Charles, and about sixty of his fol-

¹ Boscobel, p. 457.

lowers, who were all, or the greater part of them, noblemen and gentlemen, struck off the high road; the latter intending to rejoin Lesley, and go with him into Scotland, as the best thing they could do, as soon as they should see the King safe. When they came to Kinvearn Heath, near Kidderminster, the King stopped and consulted with his attendants where they might obtain a few hours rest and some food, which they all greatly needed after their recent fatigues. The Earl of Derby told him that, in his flight from Wigan to Worcester, he had met with an honest man, and a safe place of concealment at Boscobel House, in that neighbourhood; which, belonging to Roman Catholics, who had been subjected to searches for their priests in times of persecution, contained hiding places where a few persons might be concealed for a time, without risk of discovery. The proposal to betake themselves to this retired mansion seemed so feasible, that the King immediately agreed to it; and as it happened that the proprietor, Mr Gifford, was among the fugitives from Worcester, and then one of his Majesty's followers, he was summoned, and most readily undertook to guide the party to his abode, and do the utmost in his power for their concealment and accommodation. At this time, they were near Stourbridge; and having to pass through it, they all agreed, if they had occasion to speak, to speak French only, in order to prevent discovery. This was doubtless the town of which the King himself speaks, in the account which he afterwards gave to Pepys: "We rode very quietly through the town; they (the enemy) having nobody to watch, nor suspecting us any more than we did them, which I afterwards learnt from a country-fellow."

Though Mr Gifford had at first intended to take his Majesty to Boscobel, it occurred to him afterwards that it would be more prudent, on some accounts, to carry him to a house called "White-Ladies," within half-a-mile of Boscobel; so named from its once having been a convent of Cistercian Nuns, but which now belonged to a member of Mr Gifford's family, and where he himself sometimes resided. This house was twenty-six miles north from Wor-

cester ; and by the time his Majesty and suite had arrived there, it was early on Thursday morning. Here they received the repose and refreshment they so much required.¹

When Lord Derby had been at Boscobel, as mentioned before, he had received assistance, in concealing himself, from one William Penderill ; and the first thing he now did, after getting some rest, was to send for this man. He soon made his appearance, bringing his brother Richard along with him. The latter was immediately sent back to his house, in order to bring a suit of his own clothes for the King's use. When he returned, Lord Derby took the two brothers into a room, and telling them the result of the battle of Worcester, and that the King was then in the house, desired that as they had a high character for loyalty, as well as integrity, so they would be faithful to his Majesty, and give him all the help in their power to escape from his enemies. Mr Gifford seconding this request, the Penderills most readily agreed to do everything that might be required of them.

After this matter had been settled, the King, and those who till now had accompanied him, came to the resolution to separate, excepting Lord Wilmot, who, it was agreed, should be the sole companion of his perils ; not, however, to be always with him, but to be near him, under an assumed name, and ready to do him such services as he might need.² The royal suite then took an affectionate leave of their master, and set out to join Lesley and his horse, who had preceded them on the road to Scotland. But before going, they requested the King not to drop a hint to any of them of his future intentions, that in case of their being taken, and tortured to confess all they knew, they might not have it in their power to divulge anything to his disadvantage. Before parting, moreover, the King

¹ See the accompanying Map.

² The selection of Lord Wilmot to be the King's companion was a fortunate one, on the ground that " All's well that ends well ;" and yet there were two objections to him ; 1st, he would never wear any disguise, because, he said, it made him look frightful ; and, 2d, he was a bad walker, and could do nothing without a horse.

entrusted to some of them the valuable ornaments which he had saved in his flight from Worcester, viz., his order of the garter, blue ribbon, and George of diamonds, watch, buff-coat, &c., the greater part, if not all, of which, ultimately found their way back to him.¹

These gentlemen having left White-Ladies' House about noon on Thursday the 4th of September, were not long in overtaking General Lesley; but soon after, they were themselves unfortunately overtaken by a party of the enemy, while another party encountered them in front. The greater number were, in consequence, after an ineffectual struggle, taken prisoners. The Earl of Derby was tried and executed in the following month, for high treason against the Parliament of England, on the most iniquitous plea of having "held correspondence with Charles Stewart." The Earls of Lauderdale and Cleveland, and General Lesley, were imprisoned in the Tower of London, where they were kept till the Restoration. Lauderdale had his life saved at the intercession of Lady Dysart, Cromwell's favourite, and afterwards married his fair deliverer. The Duke of Buckingham, and Lords Talbot and Leviston were fortunate enough to get away from the scene of action, and in the end found means to reach the continent in safety.²

Before parting with Lesley, I will here give an anecdote of him, which is told in a work, of which only sixty copies

¹ The history of the George of diamonds (a glory or star of silver, having a St George's cross embroidered within a garter) is rather a curious one. This was committed to the care of Colonel Blague, who, with the privity of a Mr and Mrs Barlow, at a place near Stafford, hid it under a heap of rubbish. The Colonel himself was afterwards taken and lodged in the Tower; but the Barlows committed the "George," for greater security, to a Mr Milward of Stafford; and he entrusted it to the celebrated Isaak Walton, who carried it privately to Colonel Blague while he was in the Tower. The Colonel was so fortunate as to make his escape soon after, and had the satisfaction of restoring it to the King in person. This Colonel Blague was the father of Mrs Godolphin, whose interesting Memoirs have been lately edited by Bishop Wilberforce.

I may here add, that the King lost "a collar of SS." at Worcester, which a Major Cobbet found in the house he had occupied in that town, and afterwards presented it to the English Parliament.

² The Duke of Buckingham appears to have gone into Scotland to try and stir up the royalists in that quarter, but without effect. He afterwards married the daughter of the Parliamentary General Fairfax.

were printed, entitled, "Historical Fragments relative to Scottish affairs, 1635-1664."¹ After he had been some time in the Tower of London, "he was brought before the Parliament of England, and declared he had several times offered to deliver up the King to Cromwell, but he refused. Cromwell answered, 'That it was true he had offered to sell his King to him; but he did defye him, or any officer or souldier, English or Scots, that could say he had slipped any opportunity of taking him in the feilds; but he scorned to buy any man with money; and for thee, David Lesley,' said he, 'Thou art a traitor;' at which words D. Lesley burst furth in tears, when said Cromwell, 'Is that a man fitt to lead and command an army?' I give this anecdote as I find it, without being able to vouch for its authenticity. There is a mystery about Lesley's equivocal, if not treacherous conduct, and the King's favourable treatment of him, which I cannot clear up. It is well known that, after the Restoration, in order to refute the reports which were circulated against him, he asked and obtained from the King, a letter expressive of his Majesty's confidence in him; but the letter was so cautiously worded, that it seemed rather intended to conceal, than to indicate, the royal author's real opinion of the general.

Let us here glance, before we return to the King, at the treatment of one of the Worcester prisoners in London, and the noble behaviour of his wife; which I am the more induced to do, as history furnishes us with so very few particulars of this interesting event, and as the narrative is singularly affecting and beautiful in itself. "I went," says Lady Fanshawe (in her "Memoirs," addressed to her son, p. 113, &c.) "with my brother Fanshawe to Ware Park, and my sister went to Ball's to my father, both intending to meet in the winter; and so, indeed, we did with tears; for the 3d of September following was fought the battle of Worcester, when, the King being missed, and nothing heard of your father being dead or alive, for three days, it was inexpressible what affliction I was in. I neither eat nor slept, but trembled at every motion I

¹ Edited by James Maidment, Esq. Edin., T. G. Stevenson, 1833.

heard, expecting the fatal news which at last came in their news-book, which mentioned your father a prisoner.

“ Then, with some hopes, I went to London, intending to leave my little girl Nan, the companion of my troubles, there, and so find out my husband wheresoever he was carried. But on my coming to London, I met a messenger from him with a letter which advised me of his condition, and told me he was civilly used, and said little more, but that I should be in some room in Charing Cross, where he had promise from his keeper, that he should rest there in my company at dinner time. This was meant to him as a great favour. I expected him with impatience; and on the day appointed, provided the dinner and room as ordered, in which I was with my father and some of our friends; where, about eleven of the clock, we saw hundreds of poor soldiers, both English and Scotch, marched all naked on foot,¹ and many with your father, who was very cheerful in appearance, who, after he had spoken and saluted me and his friends there, said, ‘ Pray let us not lose time, for I know not how little I have to spare. This is the chance of war, nothing venture nothing have, so let us sit down and be merry whilst we may.’ Then taking my hand in his, and kissing me, ‘ Cease weeping, no other thing upon earth can move me; remember we are all at God’s disposal.’ Then he began to tell how kind his captain was to him, &c. Thus we passed the time, until order came to carry him to Whitehall, where, in a little room yet standing in the bowling green, he was kept prisoner, without speech of any, so far as they knew, two weeks, and in expectation of death. They after examined him; and at last he grew so ill in health, by the cold and hard marches he had undergone, and being pent up in a room close and small, that the scurvy brought him almost to death’s door.

“ During the time of his imprisonment, I failed not constantly to go, when the clock struck four in the morning, with a dark lantern in my hand, all alone and on foot, from

¹ “ They were driven like cattle into Tothill fields, and there sold to the London merchants, to be sent as slaves to Barbadoes.”

my lodging in Chancery Lane at my cousin Young's, to Whitehall, in at the entry that went out of King Street into the bowling green. There I would go under his window, and softly call him. He, after the first time excepted, never failed to put out his head at the first call. Then we talked together, and sometimes I was so wet with the rain, that it went in at my neck and out at my heels. He directed me how I should write my addresses, which I did ever to their General Cromwell, who had a great respect for your father, and would have bought him off to his service upon any terms.

"Being one day to solicit for my husband's liberty for a time, he bid me bring, the next day, a certificate from a physician that he was really ill. Immediately I went to Dr Batters, that was by chance both physician to Cromwell and to our family, who gave me one very favourable in my husband's behalf. I delivered it at the Council Chamber, at three of the clock that afternoon, as he commanded me; and he himself moved, 'that seeing they could make no use of his imprisonment, whereby to lighten them in their business, he might have his liberty upon £4000 bail, to take a course of physic, he being dangerously ill.' Many spoke against it, but most Sir Henry Vane, who said he would be instrumental, for aught he knew, to hang all them that sat there, if ever he had opportunity; but if he *was* to have liberty for a time, that he might take the Engagement¹ before he went out: upon which Cromwell said, 'I never knew that the Engagement was a medicine for the scorbutic.' They hearing their general say so, thought it obliged him, and so ordered him his liberty upon bail. His eldest brother, and sister Bedell, and self, were bound to £4000; and the latter end of November, he came to my lodgings at my cousin Young's. He there met many of his good friends and kindred, and my joy was

¹ This was a document expressing approbation of all the Parliament had recently done, including the murder of the King, and containing an oath of allegiance to itself. The Presbyterians had turned the Royalists out of their seats in 1643-4, by forcing upon them their Covenant; and now the Independents turned out the Presbyterians, by forcing upon them this Engagement. Such is the downward tendency of revolutionary measures—and such are the instruments which Providence employs to punish the rebellious.

inexpressible, and so was poor Nan's, of whom your poor father was very fond. I forgot to tell you, that when your father was taken prisoner of war, he, before they entered the house where he was, burned all his papers, which saved the lives and estates of many a brave gentleman."

We must now return to the King, whom we left at White-Ladies, under the care of Mr Gifford and the two brothers Penderill. And here, it is necessary to state, that there were five brothers of this name, who all lived in the same neighbourhood, men of inferior condition in life, but very trustworthy, and Roman Catholics by religion. They had all been born at Hobbel Grange, in the parish of Tong, in which they still resided; and though they were all admitted into the secret of the King's presence among them, and knew that a large reward would be given for his apprehension, yet they never once swerved from their fidelity. William and his wife lived in Boscobel House, and had the charge of it; Richard and his mother rented a part of Hobbel Grange; John was forester on the White-Ladies property; Humphrey was the miller of the same place; and George was a servant in the house, at the time the King and Lord Wilmot came to it.

After the King had put on the suit of clothes belonging to Richard Penderill, he caused his own to be buried in a dunghill; in doing which, the greatest haste was requisite, for the Penderills had learnt that a party of Cromwell's horse, under Colonel Ashenhurst, was quartered at Cotshill, only three miles distant; and some of whom actually came to White-Ladies, to search for Cavaliers, within half an hour after the King had quitted it. Richard now took the King out of the house, and by a private path led him into a wood belonging to Boscobel, called Spring Coppice; whilst his brothers, George and Humphrey, kept a careful look-out, that they might bring his Majesty tidings of any thing which concerned him.

Charles's intention at this time was, if possible, to reach London; but he had not entrusted this intention to any one but Lord Wilmot, who was to meet him at a particular house that had been agreed upon, viz. at the sign of "the

Three Cranes in the Vintry." Circumstances, however, occurred to alter this plan. Wilmot, meantime, was under the care of John Penderill, who, after some narrow escapes, introduced him to Mr Huddleston, a Romish priest, who took him safely to the house of a brother-religionist, a Mr Whitgreave, in this neighbourhood, where we shall hear of him again in a short time.

The Penderills effectually guarded the King in Boscobel wood during the whole of Thursday, which they were better able to do, as it rained heavily at that place, the rain preventing the enemy from coming in search of fugitives. In the course of the day, a company of militia passed along the skirt of the wood, near enough for the King to see them, but yet so as not to be discovered by them.

Towards evening, Richard went to the house of his sister-in-law, the "Good-wife of Yates," who lived hard by, and procured a blanket for the King's use; and, at the same time, he desired her to prepare and carry some food for his Majesty. She presently made ready a mess of milk, bread, butter, and eggs, which she took to him herself. The King was surprised to see a stranger woman approaching him, and accosted her by saying, "Good woman, can you be faithful to a distressed Cavalier?" "Yes, Sir," she replied, "I will rather die than discover you." She then told him who she was, and Charles gladly partook of what she had brought. It was in this wood, and while consulting with Richard Penderill, that Charles changed his intention of going to London, and determined to go into Wales, whither Richard undertook to guide him; and where he knew several trustworthy gentlemen, by whose help he hoped to reach one of the sea-ports which carried on a trade with France, and thus make his escape to that country.

When it drew dark on Thursday night, his Majesty and Richard Penderill quitted the wood, but before setting out on their journey for Wales, they called at Richard's house, at Hobbel Grange, where his mother lived, who was thus gratified by a sight of the King, as well as by seeing her own son engaged in his service. After kissing his hand, she fell on her knees, and thanked God for having made

a child of her's instrumental in protecting his Sovereign. What a contrast between this poor woman's devoted loyalty, and the great Cromwell's unprovoked rebellion against his lawful King! Here Charles made his disguise more complete than it had been before, and assumed the name of William Jones. After taking some refreshment, they set off at nine o'clock the same night, intending to go to Madeley, which is about six miles from White-Ladies, and within a mile of the river Severn. They were the more induced to go there, because a Mr Wolf, a royalist, and a friend of Richard's, lived in that town.

Before midnight, as they were crossing the bridge at Evelyn Mill, they heard voices inside the adjoining house, and though dark, they could distinguish the figure of the miller in his white dress standing at the door. The latter called out, "Who goes there?" "Neighbours going home," returned Richard; whereupon the miller replied, "if you be neighbours stand, or I will come and knock you down." It turned out afterwards that both the miller and his inmates were royalists, and that he took the two travellers for rebels; but Richard, thinking they might be enemies, and not wishing to come into collision with them, ran off, and told the King to follow him. He then ran up a dirty lane, the King keeping as close as possible behind him. The way was very rough, and Charles's shoes being thin, his feet were severely galled by the stones; and the night was so dark, that, but for the rustling of Richard's calf-skin breeches, he would have been at a loss to know in what direction his guide was leading him. At length, they got over a hedge, and lay behind it to listen for a few minutes if they were pursued; but not hearing any one, they proceeded on their journey till they reached Madeley.

It was one in the morning before they came to Mr Wolf's house. This man, like the Penderills, was a Romanist, as well as a royalist, and had been accustomed to hide the priests of his church in certain concealed parts of his house, during the times of persecution. Charles was unwilling to go up to the door, till he should first learn whether Wolf would be disposed to admit so dangerous a guest as himself,

and therefore withdrew to a little distance till this point were ascertained. Richard knocked at the door. The family were all in bed ; but after waiting some time, and knocking more than once, Miss Wolf came and enquired who was there ? Richard told her who he was ; and when admitted, he desired her to ask her father if he would harbour, only for a day, an unfortunate Cavalier, who had fled from Worcester, and could not venture to travel excepting by night. When this request was made known to Mr Wolf, he got up and told Richard that it was so dangerous to harbour any of the Cavaliers, that, for his part, he would not venture his neck for any of them, unless it were for the King himself. Upon this, Richard informed him that it really was the King who implored his protection. Mr Wolf was not a little surprised, and yet glad to hear he had escaped from his enemies ; adding, that he would do every thing in his power for his preservation. This was immediately communicated to the King, who was admitted into the house by a back way, and introduced to Mr Wolf. This gentlemen received his Majesty with all becoming reverence, telling him, that while he was happy he had escaped from those who sought his life, he regretted to see him in that painful condition ; and the more, because the whole of that neighbourhood, and especially the ferries and bridges of the Severn, were so strictly guarded by the parliamentary troops, that he could not cross that river without great risk of discovery ; and, as to the hiding holes of his house, they were all now so well known, that he could not venture to put him into any of them ; and therefore the safest plan, he thought, would be for him to lie hid for the present under some loose hay in one of his barns, wrapt up in blankets. This being agreed upon, and Charles having got some refreshment, his feet washed, and a change of stockings and linen, he retired to the barn, where he soon fell asleep, and lay concealed the whole of the following day.

In the course of that day, he and Richard and Mr Wolf had several conversations together on the subject in which they all felt most interested ; and learning how hopeless it would be to venture across the Severn, they agreed

that it would be best for the King and his companion to return that night to Boscobel. There the King hoped to hear some tidings of his friend Lord Wilmot, and to consult with him what plan ought to be followed. Accordingly, having got some additional refreshment, and browned his face and hands, by washing them in walnut leaf water, he and Richard left Madeley at 11 o'clock at night, after taking leave of their host, and set out on their journey back again.

When they got near the Evelyn Mill, having no mind to be questioned a second time by the miller, they resolved to get across the stream as well as they could, instead of going by the bridge; but being doubtful of its depth, and Richard unable to swim, the King, who could swim, went into the water first, and finding the deepest part no more than four feet, Richard followed him, and they were soon safe across, though very uncomfortably wet.

They arrived at Boscobel wood about three or four o'clock the next morning, being Saturday the 6th of the month. There Richard left the King, that he might go into the house to get what information he could concerning both friends and foes. He then learned that John Penderill, with the aid of Mr Huddleston, already mentioned, had conducted Lord Wilmot, after encountering some risks, to the house of Mr Whitgrave at Mosely, near Wolverhampton, where, for the present, he was in safety. This Huddleston was chaplain in Mr Whitgrave's family, and tutor to his three sons. Lord Wilmot's horse had been securely deposited at the house of Colonel Lane (of whom we shall have more in the sequel) at Bentley, four miles from Mosely. Besides getting this information, Richard found, in Boscobel House, a Major Carlis, a native of that neighbourhood, a Romanist too, and well acquainted with those of the same persuasion in the counties of Worcester and Stafford. He also was a fugitive from Worcester, and had served there under the King, with whom he was partially acquainted. Richard, knowing that this gentleman was trustworthy, and thinking he might be of service, did not scruple to tell him that his Majesty was in the adjacent wood, and offered

to conduct him thither, a proposal to which he was too happy to consent. Accordingly, he and Richard, and two of his brothers, went into the wood, where they found the King sitting upon the root of a tree. After mutual recognitions and explanations, they took Charles back with them to the house, and provided him with every comfort which their means permitted. They gave him a substantial meal of bread and cheese, and a drink of warm milk and beer, washed his feet, which were both sore and dirty, and furnished him with a pair of clean worsted stockings; and as they could find no shoes that would fit him so well as his own, they got these well dried and cleaned before he put them on again.

As the day was now beginning to dawn, and it was thought unsafe for the King to remain any longer where he was, they all returned to the wood, where Carlis proposed to the King to get up with him into a lofty oak tree, which had been lopped some years before, and was now grown thick and bushy, in which they might conceal themselves without much risk of being discovered. This plan being approved of, the Penderills assisted the King and Carlis in climbing the tree; and having supplied them with provisions, left them to pass the day there. They had also provided his Majesty with a cushion to sit upon, with the aid of which, and by leaning his head on the Major's knees, he obtained some hours sleep. When awake, they saw some of the parliamentary soldiers searching the wood for Scots fugitives, and even overheard them saying what they would do with the King if they found him. This tree was long afterwards known by the name of "the Royal Oak." Multitudes of persons from all parts went to visit it, and cut off so many branches and twigs from it as relics, that its proprietor was forced at last to place a lofty fence around it for its preservation. Even long after the Revolution, oak leaves were worn by many on the 29th of May (the anniversary of the King's birth-day, and of the Restoration), to the great annoyance of the new dynasty, which resorted to fine and imprisonment, and even scourging, in order to suppress these tendencies to Jacobitism

On the day the King and his companion were concealed in the oak tree, Humphrey Penderill went to Shefnal to pay some taxes to one Captain Broadway, a government collector, at whose house he met with a Colonel of the parliamentary army, who had come from Worcester expressly in pursuit of the King. This Colonel, having heard that his Majesty had been seen at or near White-Ladies, and being informed that Humphrey belonged to that neighbourhood, examined him very closely on the subject, telling him of the penalty for concealing the King, and of the great reward he would receive for discovering him. But neither fear of punishment, nor hope of gain, could tempt Humphrey into disloyalty. He pleaded ignorance, and was dismissed.

When night came, the King and his companion descended from their tree, and returned to the house, where they were entertained by Humphrey's account of what passed between himself and the rebel Colonel at Shefnal. But as this story shewed the extreme danger the King was in of discovery, he desired William Penderill, with a view to make his disguise still more perfect, to cut his hair as short as possible on the crown of his head, but to leave some about the ears, which was then the fashion of the peasantry in that part of England. William was farther desired to burn this hair, but for once he ventured to be disobedient, as he kept some locks of it, with which he afterwards gratified certain royalists, who were anxious to obtain these relics of their Sovereign.

This night, the goodwife of the house, whom the King called "my dame Joan," provided him with chickens for supper, a luxury which he had not enjoyed since he had been at Worcester. She then shewed him the secret apartment in which the Earl of Derby had been concealed, with which Charles was so well pleased, though only five feet square, that he said he would prefer it to returning to the oak tree, where his seat had not been one of the most comfortable. The good woman next furnished him with a pallet to sleep on ; some of the brothers continually watching

the approaches to the house, that they might the more effectually secure his Majesty in the event of a surprise.

On Sunday morning, the 7th, Charles rose early, and in a gallery which adjoined his secret apartment, he was observed to spend some time in his private devotions. In this gallery there was a window which commanded a view of the road between Tong and Brewood, so that in case of danger from that quarter, it could be foreseen. The Penderills and Carlis had contrived to steal a sheep that morning from a neighbouring farmer, named Staunton, for his Majesty's and their own breakfast. Charles, who understood the art of cookery better than any of the party, cut the mutton into collops with his own hands, and fried them with butter in a pan, Carlis assisting and acting under his directions. The Penderills afterwards confessed the theft to Staunton, and offered to pay him for his sheep; but he generously refused to take any thing, when informed that it was for the use of some hungry cavaliers from Worcester. A part of this Sunday was passed in reading, in a small arbour in the garden of the house, which had a stone table in the centre, and a circular seat round it.

The brothers Penderill were indefatigable in their endeavours to secure the King from discovery while at Boscobel; and it pleased God, that though the parliamentary soldiers had had intelligence of his being at White-Ladies, and had carefully examined that house, yet they never thought of coming to Boscobel while he was there, perhaps from having been informed that there was only one poor family who lived in it.

The King was now very desirous of meeting with Lord Wilmot, who, as has been related, had found shelter at the house of Mr Whitgrave, at Mosely, where he had assumed the name of Mr Barlow. Accordingly on this Sunday, John Penderill was sent to Mosely to make inquiry about him, to see him if he were still there, and to arrange a meeting between him and the King. By this time, however, Wilmot had removed to the house of Colonel Lane, at Bentley, at the latter's invitation; but at Mosely John found Mr Whitgrave, and the priest Mr Huddleston.

When he had told them the errand he came upon, they both determined to go with him to Bentley, for the purpose of seeing Wilmot, and contributing all in their power for the King's safety. When they met that lord at Bentley, and told him where the King was, and of his desire to see him, he appointed to return that very night to Mosely; and desired John to go back and request the King also to come there, as being a safer and more convenient place of meeting than any other. Mr Huddleston also engaged to meet his Majesty at a certain part of the road, called Pit-leasow, and to conduct him to the house.

When John came back and communicated this arrangement to the King, the latter said he would willingly go to Mosely; but his feet were still so sore from the fatigue of his walk to and from Madeley, that he was unable, in his then state, to walk so far as five miles, which was the distance from Boscobel to Mosely; and he therefore begged John to procure him a horse, if possible, to carry him. John knew of only one that he could get, and that was the mill-horse belonging to his brother Humphrey; a poor old animal, but yet strong enough to carry the King five miles. Being then at grass in an adjoining field, it was soon brought and accoutred with a saddle and bridle of even a worse description than the animal itself. Before the King mounted, Major Carlis took leave of him; for it was thought that, as both the person and opinions of this officer were well known in that neighbourhood, the King would run some risk of discovery, from the mere fact of being seen in his company.

Carlis soon after made his escape to the Continent, and was the first to communicate to the Queen-mother the news of her son's safety, up to the time he had parted from him. After the Restoration, the King conferred upon this officer a coat of arms commemorative of the service he had rendered to him, namely, "an oak in a field, or, with a fesse gules, charged with three royal crowns;" and for a crest, "a crown of oak leaves, with a sword and sceptre, crossed saltierwise." He also bestowed on him and his descendants certain ship dues of the river Thames, which were only

annulled so lately as 1822. Carlis lived till the time of the Revolution, his will being dated in 1688.

Charles set out late on Sunday night on the mill-horse, accompanied by all the five Penderills, and Francis Yates who was married to their sister. They were all six armed, for each carried a good strong stick; and besides, some had pitchforks, and others had loaded pistols in their pockets. Though the night was dark and rainy, they avoided the high road, and kept to lanes and bye-ways for greater security. Two of the attendants went on before, two followed at a short distance, and one walked on each side of the King, not only to give warning of approaching danger, but also that they might be ready to defend him, in case of attack. Charles once complained of the horse, that it was the heaviest and dullest jade he had ever rode; on which its owner, Humphrey, rather cleverly remarked, "My liege, no wonder the horse goes heavily, seeing it has the weight of three kingdoms on its back." However, neither poor Charles nor the horse had then much reason to complain of being encumbered by the weight of kingdoms.

Huddleston the priest (or Father Huddleston, as he was commonly called) was ready at the place he had fixed on for meeting the King, which was very near Mr Whitgrave's house. Here William, George, and Humphrey Penderill took their leave of his Majesty, and had the privilege of kissing his hand; he thanking them very cordially for all they had done for him, and promising to reward them as soon as it should be in his power. They then returned with the horse to Boscobel, while the King and his other three attendants, with the priest, walked by a private way to Mosely House, where they met its owner, Mr Whitgrave, to whom Charles was introduced. Wilmot had come to the house two hours before; and as soon as he was told of the King's arrival, he came out to meet him, and kneeling down, embraced his knees. Charles kissed his cheek, and asked him if he had heard anything of Buckingham, Cleveland, and the rest? but of them Wilmot was unable to give him the least information. Mr Whitgrave now

shewed him his secret chamber, or "priest's hole," to which he was to betake himself, in the event of a surprise.

All this time, Charles was in his coarse clothing; his leathern doublet, with pewter buttons; a pair of old green breeches, with long knees, and a short thread-bare coat of the same colour; a pair of stirrup stockings, with their feet cut off, and darned at the knees, which were given to him by Mr Wolf at Madeley; a pair of shoes, slashed at the sides, to give his feet ease; an old greasy steeple-crowned hat, without lining, the brim turned up; his face and gloveless hands being of a tawny colour, from the walnut leaves he had used in dyeing them. Mr Huddleston, observing the coarseness of the King's linen shirt, offered him a clean flaxen one, which he was glad to accept; and also gave him a change of shoes and stockings, and a clean handkerchief, which were no less acceptable.¹

Mr Whitgrave had, by this time, brought in some biscuits and a bottle of sack, of which Charles gladly partook; and when thus refreshed, he remarked, "I am now ready for another march; and if it shall please God once more to place me at the head of but eight or ten thousand good men, of one mind, and resolved to fight, I shall not doubt to drive these rogues out of my kingdoms."

It was now break of day, on Monday the 8th of September, and the King was desirous to obtain some rest; for which purpose, a pallet was placed in his secret apartment, where he went and lay down, but could not sleep comfortably, owing to the closeness of the room; and yet he did not venture into one of the open bed-rooms of the house, for fear of discovery.

Before Lord Wilmot retired to rest, he advised that at least two of the household, who were in the King's secret, should be always on the watch, to give notice of any coming danger; adding, that if the rebels should have intelli-

¹ Charles was subject to a bleeding of the nose, and his pocket handkerchief, which was as coarse as the rest of his habiliments, was stained with this blood. Father Huddleston having given him a new one, took the old one in exchange, which he gave to a kinswoman of his own, a Mrs Brathwayte, who kept it with great reverence all her life, and used it as a remedy for the King's evil!

gence of cavaliers being concealed there, and should any belonging to the house be tortured, in order to obtain a confession, they were to discover *him* first, which, whatever might be the consequence to himself, would probably satisfy the enemy, and thus save the King.

In the course of this day, the King paid his respects to Mrs Whitgrave, the aged mother of his host, with whom he afterwards held several conversations; and insisted on her sitting at table with him, while Mr Whitgrave and Mr Huddleston waited on them. The same day it was determined to send John Penderill to Colonel Lane, at Bentley, to desire him to send Lord Wilmot's horse for him that night, after it was dark. This nobleman, as already mentioned, was a very indifferent walker, which obliged him to use his horse, whenever he could do so without risk of discovery.

Soon after John was gone, Mr Whitgrave had notice brought him, that a party of soldiers (under the command of a man called Southall, nick-named the "priest catcher") were on their way to apprehend him, on information that he had fought on the royal side at the battle of Worcester. As soon as he heard this, his first care was to conceal the King and Wilmot in the secret apartment; and then, leaving all his other rooms open, he went down stairs, and boldly met the soldiers. When they first saw him, they seemed ready to tear him in pieces, from knowing that he was a Romanist, and from their persuasion of his having been at Worcester; but he confidently assured them that, on account of ill health, he had not been absent from home for more than a fortnight, appealing to his servants for the truth of what he affirmed. This, after some hesitation, satisfied the soldiers, and they withdrew.

That night, Lord Wilmot having received his horse, went to Colonel Lane's house, as had been previously arranged, where these two gentlemen talked over certain measures for bringing the King to Bentley, and from thence sending him to the sea coast, in the manner that will be afterwards related.

It will shew the narrow escape the King made, if we mention here, that some of the parliamentary rebels took

prisoner, a day or two before this, a royalist cornet who had accompanied the King and his suite to White-Ladies, they having found out, by some means, that such was the fact. As soon as they made this discovery, they put spurs to their horses, and made all the haste possible to White-Ladies, carrying the terrified cornet along with them. They reached that house on the day the King was at Mosely, within a few miles of White-Ladies, and calling on Mr Gifford, presented a pistol to his breast, and ordered him to confess where the King was hid, or he should die immediately. Mr Gifford, who possessed as much presence of mind as loyalty, told them calmly, that all he knew of the matter was, that the morning after the battle of Worcester, some hungry cavaliers had come there, and demanding provisions, ate them all up and departed; but who they were, and whither they went, he knew not, nor had ever made any enquiry. The soldiers were by no means satisfied with this answer, but proceeded to search every corner of the house most minutely, breaking down much of the wainscoting, and damaging the furniture; and at length, after farther questioning Mr Gifford to little purpose, they took their departure.

This was not the only danger which Charles at this time narrowly escaped; for the very day after he left Boscobel, two parties of the rebels came and searched the house at that place. The one party belonged to the country troop, and behaved with civility enough; but the other, who were the regular soldiers, acted with great insolence, ate up the little stock of provisions belonging to William Penderill and "my dame Joan," and carried off with them whatever was of any value. Yet both parties returned as ignorant as they came of that information they were most anxious to obtain.

On Tuesday, the 9th of the month, his Majesty was attended chiefly by Father Huddleston, Lord Wilmot being at Bentley, and Mr Whitgrave out watching near the house. Part of the day he spent in reading a Romish catechism, which perhaps had been purposely laid in his way; and also a tract, entitled "A Short and Plain way to the

Faith and the Church, by Richard Huddleston, of the order of St Benedict," the uncle of the King's attendant. Charles was, moreover, shewn the private oratory or sanctuary of the family, which he praised much for its neatness; observing, that if he should ever be restored to his throne, they should have no farther need for secrecy. Nothing could be more natural than for Charles to promise unrestrained liberty of conscience to those who were now assisting in concealing him from his Protestant enemies. In truth, it was a disgrace to the bulk of the English nation, at this time, that their behaviour to their lawful prince should be so strongly contrasted by that of those whose religion they hated or despised. And as to liberty of worship, it deserves notice, that Charles individually never was, at any period of his life, a persecutor; and if severe measures were adopted, after his Restoration, towards some denominations of Christians, who had themselves been extremely intolerant when in power, it arose from the active endeavours of those denominations to overturn both the Church and the civil government which had been by law established.

Old Mrs Whitgrave, who was fond of gossiping with persons of credulous dispositions, and had been out this morning picking up reports in the neighbourhood of Mosely, was told by an ignorant countryman, that King Charles, in his retreat to Scotland, after Worcester fight, had fallen in with, and beaten, the parliamentary troops at Warrington bridge, having been there assisted by three kings! When Mrs Whitgrave told this anecdote to Charles he laughed, and observed, that, if so, they must have been the three Kings of Cologne, who had descended from heaven to help him, for he knew of no other who were likely to befriend him in his present emergency.

This was a day of incidents. Charles, while sitting at the window of his little cabinet, which overlooked the high road, saw several wounded soldiers pass by in their retreat from Worcester, two of whom came into the house where he was, to beg, and whom he recognised as Highlanders who had belonged to his own regiment. They little imagined

that their Colonel and their King was within a few yards of them.

Father Huddleston, besides Mr Whitgrave's sons, had three other boys under his charge, who were at this time with him at Mosely, namely, Sir John Preston (whose late father had raised a regiment for Charles I., and lost his estate in consequence), Thomas Patyn, and Francis Reynolds. To enable him to be as much as possible with the King (who would otherwise have been alone), Huddleston set his pupils at the upper windows of the house, which overlooked the various roads in the vicinity, to give him timely notice if they saw any troopers, or other suspicious persons, approaching. This service the youths, who called themselves the stranger's "life-guard," performed very faithfully, and were rewarded at night for their trouble by a better supper than usual.

It was on this day, moreover, that Cromwell and his party issued a proclamation for the discovery and apprehension of "Charles Stewart," with a promise of £1000 reward to any that should take him; and, at the same time, they gave strict orders to all officers of sea-port towns to be doubly particular in examining the passports and persons of all who embarked for foreign countries. It seems singular that they did not offer a much greater reward for apprehending the King, if they were really desirous of getting possession of him. But it is quite possible that Cromwell, now that he had conquered and dispersed his army, might secretly desire his escape. He perhaps thought, though we have no evidence of it, that the blood of the father was enough to lie upon him, without adding to it that of the son.

Lord Wilmot had intimated to the King, through John Penderill, that Colonel Lane was to come that night at 12 o'clock to Mosely, for the purpose of conducting him to Bentley. The Colonel was to be at the orchard of the house, and meet Mr Whitgrave there, who should go back and bring out the King. All this happened as had been settled. Charles took an affectionate leave of the family; they assuring him that they would offer up many prayers for

his deliverance. Mrs Whitgrave insisted that he should accept of some comfits and sweetmeats which she had prepared for him. Before parting from father Huddleston and Mr Whitgrave, he advised them, for their own safety, to quit that neighbourhood for a time ; and if they afterwards got into any trouble on his account, he recommended them to repair to a certain merchant in London, who would furnish them with the means, if required, of going abroad. He then gave them his hand to kiss, and was conducted to Colonel Lane, who was waiting for him in the orchard.¹ The night being cold, Huddleston lent the King his cloak, which he afterwards received back from Bentley, where the King arrived safely in the course of that night.

After this time we hear no more of the Penderills, till the Restoration ; soon after which, some of the brothers presented themselves at court, and were very graciously received by his Majesty ; and were rewarded by having certain free farms, rents, and annuities, settled on them and their heirs for ever. The following is the account transmitted to us of Richard's reception at Court, who, it will be remembered, conducted the King to Madeley, and back again to the wood at Boscobel House :—" Friend Richard," said the King, " I am glad to see thee ; thou wert my preserver and conductor, the bright star that shewed me to my Bethlehem ; for which kindness I will engrave thy memory on the tablet of a faithful heart." Then turning to the Lords about him, he added, " My Lords, respect this good man for my sake."—" Master Richard, be bold, and tell these Lords what passed amongst us, when I had quitted the oak at Boscobel to reach Pit-Leasow." " Your Majesty must well remember," replied Richard, " that night when brother Humphrey brought his old mill horse from White-Ladies, not accoutred with kingly gear, but with a pitiful saddle and worse bridle ; not attended by royal guards, but with half-a-dozen raw and undisciplined rustics, who had little else but good will to defend your Majesty with ; 'twas then your Majesty mounted, and as we journeyed towards Mosely, your Majesty did most heartily com-

¹ After the Restoration, Mr Whitgrave had £200 a-year settled upon him.

plain of the jade you rode on, and said, it was the dullest creature you ever met with ; to which my brother Humphrey replied, ‘ My liege, can you blame the horse for going heavily, when he has the weight of three kingdoms on his back ?’ At which your Majesty grew somewhat lighter, and commended brother Humphrey’s wit.” In like manner did this poor peasant entertain Charles and his courtiers, until his Majesty thought proper to dismiss him ; but not without settling a sufficient pension on him for life, on which he lived within the vicinity of the Court, until the 8th of February 1671 (twenty years after the fatal battle of Worcester) when he died, much lamented by his Majesty and other great personages, whom he had protected from savage barbarity and fanatical persecution. His royal master, to perpetuate the memory of this faithful man, out of his princely munificence, caused a fair monument to be raised over him in the church-yard of St Giles-in-the-fields, near about the east end of the church.¹

Some of the descendants of these Penderills are said to be still living, and in the enjoyment of the rents which were settled on their loyal ancestors.

Before proceeding with our narrative, we must make another brief digression regarding Father Huddleston. It is well known that Charles died a Roman Catholic ; and it was this very ecclesiastic who reconciled him, as it is termed, to the Roman Church, when on his deathbed. Having been appointed one of the Queen’s chaplains, as a reward for his services, he was at hand at the fatal hour, and was introduced to the King’s bed-room, through a private passage, disguised as a clergyman of the Church of England, in a wig and cassock (for he could not have been legally admitted as a Romanist), by the Duke of York, who said to the King, “ Sir, I bring you a man who once saved your life, and he now comes to save your soul.” The King replied in a faint voice, “ He is welcome.” The Father made him repeat after him, a confession of his sins, and then gave him absolution, extreme unction, and the holy

¹ Boscobel Tracts, p. 79.

communion.¹ It is remarkable that James, when abdicating his throne three and a half years after, made his escape by the same private passage through which he had admitted Father Huddleston.

But to return. Charles was not allowed to remain long at Bentley; for the plan which Lord Wilmot and Colonel Lane had arranged was, that he should set out that very day on horseback, with the Colonel's sister, Miss Lane (according to the usage of the times, called Mrs Lane), on a pillion behind him, on their way to Leigh, or Abbotsleigh, near Bristol, whither the latter was going ostensibly to pay a visit to Mrs Norton her cousin. The King was to be named William Jackson; he was to pass for the son of one of Colonel Lane's tenants, taking charge of his master's sister on her journey; and his dress and behaviour were to be in accordance with this employment. Lord Wilmot fully explained this matter to the King, who readily went into it, and prepared himself to act in his new character. After getting a few hours sleep, Colonel Lane came to him with his new suit, and cloak of country grey cloth, fashioned according to the holiday dress of a young farmer of that period.

But Charles and his female companion were not to ride alone. A Cornet Lassels, a relation of Colonel Lane, was to ride in company with them, as their protector; and a Mr and Mrs Petre (the latter Colonel Lane's sister) were also to ride on one horse beside them. These last had a house at Horton in Buckinghamshire, and they were to accompany the party so far on their way to their own house. Colonel Lane himself, and Lord Wilmot too, were to be of the party, though to keep at a distance, and not to appear to belong to them. Mr Lassels and Miss Lane knew who William Jackson was, but the Petres were not admitted into the secret.

¹ In a letter on this subject, in the Appendix to Harris' Life of Charles II. Bishop Kenneth says, "I heard a great Peer observe, that Charles was in a manner past his senses, when the Duke said, 'Brother, will you have the priest come in?' and without any sensible answer from the King, Father Huddleston, who was set to wait at the chamber door, was called in, and did what he pleased, without the King's choice or express assent to it."

Such were the arrangements. Everything being now ready for the journey, and Colonel Lane having given the pretended William some directions how to conduct himself in his new capacity, told him to bring the horse from the stable to the door of the house, with his hat under his arm. Old Mrs Lane, who was not in the secret, remarked to her daughter, "what a goodly horseman thou hast got to ride before thee!" but noticed that he had given the wrong hand in assisting her to mount. This was Wednesday the 10th September. Being all now mounted, they set off in the direction of Stratford-upon-Avon, in Warwickshire, at a place three miles beyond which they were to pass the first night. Soon after leaving Bentley, Lord Wilmot, Colonel Lane, and a servant, all on horseback, followed them at a little distance with a hawk and two or three spaniels, as if bent only on their amusement, but never losing sight of their friends, that they might be ready to assist them if necessary.

They had not ridden above two hours, when Miss Lane's horse cast a shoe, which obliged them to stop at a village on the road side called Bromsgrove, to have it replaced. While William was holding the horse, he asked the farrier if there were any news? The latter answered, that he had heard of none since the beating of the Scots rogues at Worcester. William next asked if any of the English were taken who had fought on the side of the Scots? "Yes," he replied, "some of them are taken, but unluckily the greatest rogue of them all, Charles Stewart, hath escaped;" on which this "greatest rogue of them all," observed, that if he were taken he ought to be hanged sooner than any of them, for bringing the Scots into England: "Aye," said the farrier, thou speakest like an honest man. I wish I could get hold of him, for I should then get a thousand pounds reward." By this time the horse was shod and they parted.

Nothing farther remarkable occurred till they came near Wooton, which is within four miles of Stratford, when they perceived, on the road side, about a mile before them, a troop of parliamentary soldiers feeding their horses. This induced them to pause, and hold a consultation, what was

best to be done. Mr Petre had once or twice before been rudely handled by some soldiers ; and afraid of a like treatment again, he was clearly of opinion that they should avoid them, and get into Stratford by some bye road. William was opposed to this plan, because the very circumstance of seeming to avoid them, if observed, might excite suspicion ; and after all, if the soldiers themselves were going to the town, which was probable enough, they would be sure to fall in with them again. This opinion he could not presume to offer openly, from the inferiority of his condition, but he whispered it to his lady behind him, who communicated it to Mr Petre as her own. The old gentleman, however, was obstinate, and insisted on his advice being followed. It turned out that William was so far right ; for they encountered the soldiers in the streets of Stratford, but happily passed by them unmolested. Here Mr and Mrs Petre took their leave of the party, to proceed to their own home in Buckinghamshire.

All this while, Lord Wilmot and Colonel Lane had their eyes on the royal party, but saw no occasion to join them. They passed the night in that neighbourhood with Sir Clement Fisher, at his house at Packington, on whom they could rely, both for his loyalty and his hospitality. This Baronet was married to Miss Lane after the Restoration.

From this place Lord Wilmot sent Colonel Lane to London, for the purpose of endeavouring to procure a passport for the King to go to France, under his new name of William Jackson. This passport, however, if procured, was never made use of ; and the Colonel, having been probably apprised by letter that it would not be required, appears to have returned to his own home. Meanwhile, Wilmot and the servant, with the hawk and dogs, continued to follow the King's party as before.

That night, they slept at the house of a Mr Tombs at Longmarston, as had been previously settled, three miles on the south side of Stratford. Here William spent his time chiefly in the kitchen. The cook was busy preparing supper for her master's guests ; and while so occupied, she desired William to wind up the jack. This he attempted

to do ; but never having done any thing of the kind before, and setting about it somewhat clumsily, " What countryman are you, and what are you good for ! " exclaimed the indignant cook, " if you know not how to wind up a jack ? " To this William modestly answered, " that he was only the son of a poor tenant of Colonel Lane's in Staffordshire, where they seldom used roast meat ; and when they did, they turned the spit with the hand, because they could not afford a jack." This in some measure satisfied the cook, and allayed her indignation.

Next morning, the 11th, the party rose early and proceeded on their journey. Nothing occurred that day deserving of notice. They passed through Camden, and reached Cirencester in Gloucestershire the same night. Here they put up at the Crown Inn, and had supper ; William still acting in his former capacity, looking after the horses, or confining himself to the kitchen. A truckle had been prepared for him in Mr Lassels' bedroom, but when they had both retired for the night, they exchanged beds, Mr Lassels taking the inferior one to himself.

The next day, being Friday the 12th, the party proceeded on their way to Bristol, passing through Sudbury. When in Bristol, the King had the curiosity to ride round by the Fort, though out of the direct way, to see what changes had been made since he had been there before. At length they arrived safely at Leigh, the residence of Mr and Mrs Norton, afterwards Sir George and Lady Norton. When they came to the house, being a holiday, many persons were playing at bowls on the lawn before the door, among whom Charles recognised Dr Georges, who had formerly been one of his own chaplains, and was a connexion of the Nortons. This gave him some uneasiness, and made his friends doubly anxious, lest he should be discovered. He put up the horses in the stable, while Miss Lane and Mr Lassels went into the house, where they were kindly received by the Nortons, who, however, as they did not expect them, appeared somewhat surprised at seeing them. To account for their visit, Miss Lane pretended that they were on their way to visit a friend in Dorsetshire. While William was in the stable-

yard, some young men were playing at pins, who invited him to take part in the game, but he pleaded unskilfulness and declined.

Miss Lane now told the Nortons that her attendant William was troubled with a tertian ague, and required to have a comfortable room for himself, and better fare than it was usual to give servants. This induced Mrs Norton to put him under the charge of her own maid, Margaret Rider, who was directed to provide him with whatever was befitting his condition; which was a very agreeable arrangement for the supposed William, as it withdrew him from the company of the rest of the servants, of whom there were many in the house at the time.

When Miss Lane was at supper the same night, she filled a plate of broth, and desired the butler, whose name was Pope, to carry it to the invalid, and to tell him that he should have some meat sent to him presently. The butler carried the broth into the room, with a napkin, a spoon, and bread, and spoke kindly to the young man, who, notwithstanding his ague, was not sorry to see such good fare placed before him. It seemed to the butler that he had seen William's face before, but he could not remember where.

Dr Georges supped that evening with the family, and asked several questions at Miss Lane concerning the illness of the lad William, of whom she was so careful. Owing to the depressed condition of the Church of England clergy at that period, many of them, and among others this Dr Georges, had been obliged to study and practise medicine, in order to earn a livelihood. As soon, therefore, as supper was over, he, out of mere good nature, went to visit William in his chamber, to see if he could be of any use to him. When he came into the room, Charles withdrew, as if undesignedly, to the darkest part of it, where his features could not easily be discernible. The doctor then sat down beside him, felt his pulse, and asked him some questions about his ague, which he answered in as few words as possible; expressing, at the same time, a great desire to go to bed. But the doctor was not so easily got rid of. He

asked the patient if he had heard any reports about the King on his journey? But finding him shy of answering, and observing his short hair, he added, that he strongly suspected him to be a Roundhead, notwithstanding the good company he was in. "But," said he, "I will test you." And then going to the cellar, he brought up a bottle of sack, with which he drank to the King's safety, desiring William to do the same. William, no way indisposed, readily returned the civility, whereupon the doctor remarked that he was at a loss to know what to make of him. He now left him, and returning to Miss Lane, told her that her charge was at that time perfectly well, but advised how he should be treated when the ague returned.

William rose next morning, the 13th, with a good appetite; and, contrary to the resolution he had made, he went to the buttery-hatch to get his breakfast with the rest of the servants. Here he found Pope the butler, and three or four other men, busy eating bread and butter, and drinking ale and sack. While he was partaking with them, one of the men got on the subject of the battle of Worcester, and gave so accurate an account of it, that Charles concluded he must be one of Cromwell's soldiers who had fought in it. In order to satisfy his curiosity, he could not help asking him whether he had been present in the action? "He told me," says Charles himself in his Account, "that he was in the King's regiment; by which I thought he meant one Colonel King's regiment. But questioning him further, I perceived that he had been in my regiment of guards, in Major Broughton's company, that was my major in the battle. I asked him what kind of a man I was? To which he answered, by describing exactly both my clothes and my horse; and then looking upon me, he told me that the King was at least three fingers taller than I. Upon which, I made what haste I could out of the buttery, for fear he should indeed know me; as being more afraid when I knew he was one of our own soldiers, than when I took him for one of the enemy's."

William and Pope now went into the hall; and at that moment, Mrs Norton happening to pass through it, they

both pulled off their hats, and kept them in their hands till she was gone. Charles remarked that the butler looked him very earnestly in the face while his hat was off; but he put it on again as quickly as possible, and walked out of the house into an adjoining field.

Returning in half an hour, he went up to his bed-room, and while there, Mr Lassels came to him in some consternation, telling him that Pope had been with him, "and declares positively to Miss Lane and me that he knows you, and that you are the King, which, of course, we have denied." "Is he an honest man?" said Charles, "for if so, it will be best to trust him at once, and enjoin secrecy on him, rather than run the chance of his communicating his suspicions to others." Lassels answering for his honesty, Charles sent for him, and informed him that his conjecture was right, and hoped that he would be faithful to him, and assist him. The honest butler fell down upon his knees, and with tears kissed his Majesty's hand, swearing that he would do his utmost to preserve him. He then told him where he had seen him before, which was when he was servant to Lord Jermyn, who was groom of the chamber to Charles, then a boy, at Richmond; after that, he had served the late King, under Colonel Bagot, at the defence of Lichfield. "And it is very fortunate," added he, "that I know your Majesty, for otherwise you might have been in great danger in this house; for though my master and mistress are good people, yet there are some here that are very great rogues; and I think I can be useful to you in any thing you may command me." Charles then acquainted him with his design, which was to get a vessel, if possible, at Bristol, that would take him to France or Spain; and as the next day was Sunday, he bade him go as early as he could on Monday, and make enquiry if any such vessel were to sail soon. But first he told him that he expected Lord Wilmot that day at Mr Norton's, who was coming to share in his dangers, and accompany him in his escape. "It is well," replied Pope, "that your Majesty has told me this; for if my Lord Wil-

mot had come here openly, he would certainly be known to some persons now in the house ; and so I will go and meet him, and bring him in to your Majesty by a back door, when it is dark." This he did accordingly, and thus the King and Wilmot once more had the pleasure to meet.

Pope went to Bristol on Monday the 14th, as soon as his domestic duties permitted, and enquired about a vessel for France, but could hear of none that was to sail in less time than a month, which was much too long for Charles to wait where he was. He and his friends then consulted together what it would be best for him to do ; and learning that Colonel Francis Windham, a sure royalist, and a personal friend both of Charles and Lord Wilmot, was then living at Trent, near Sherborne, on the south border of Somersetshire, he determined to go to him and seek a temporary asylum in his house. This officer had behaved very gallantly on the late King's side during the civil war ; and though he had been forced to surrender Dunstar Castle, of which he was governor, it was on honourable terms ; since which time he had married, and was now living quietly on his parole at Trent.¹ It was farther settled, that the King should travel as he had done before, as William Jackson, on the same horse with Miss Lane, accompanied by Mr Lassels ; Lord Wilmot being sent on before to announce the King's approach to Colonel Windham, and to provide means for his concealment. But the night before they were to set out, an event occurred which threatened to defeat their scheme. Mrs Norton, who had been on the eve of her confinement, was taken ill, and delivered of a still-born child ; so that the difficulty was for Miss Lane to feign

¹ Sir Thomas Windham, the father of this Colonel, when on his deathbed, in the year 1636, summoned his five sons to his chamber, and spoke to them prophetically of the growing preponderance of the republican faction. " My sons," said he, " we have hitherto seen quiet times, but now prepare yourselves for cloudy and troublesome times. I command you to honour and obey your sovereign, happen what may ; and though the crown should hang on a bush, I charge you to forsake it not." So well did three of the sons, and a grandson, fulfil this charge, that they fell in battle in defence of the late King ; and the other two sons were still doing their utmost to promote the same cause.

an excuse for so abruptly leaving her cousin in that emergency.

Charles, who had been well practised in the art of deceit while in Scotland, suggested the following expedient, which was adopted and acted on successfully. A letter was counterfeited from Colonel Lane's family at Bentley, informing Miss Lane that her father was dangerously ill, and desiring her to come to him immediately, otherwise she might not see him alive. This letter Pope the butler, who was a party to the stratagem, delivered so adroitly while they were all at supper, and Miss Lane acted her part so well, that the Nortons really believed the old gentleman to be in danger, and excused their cousin going away early the next morning.

They set off accordingly on Tuesday morning, the 16th, in a northerly direction ; but when they got to a convenient distance, they turned their horses' heads to the south, and rode in the direction of Castle Cary, where they arrived without accident, and stayed all that night at the house of a Mr Edward Kirkton.

Meanwhile, Lord Wilmot had gone to Colonel Windham, at Trent, and apprised him who was to be his guest ; at which intelligence he was overjoyed, and instantly began making preparations for his sovereign's reception. To avoid appearing to act with secrecy, which is always apt to beget suspicion, he communicated the intelligence to his wife, and his niece Miss Julia Coningsby, a man servant named Henry Peters, and two female servants, on whom he could depend, and whose services might be required. The rest of the servants he sent out of the way, on different pretexts, and a room was prepared for Charles which had, in a former age, been contrived expressly for concealment.

On the morning of Wednesday, the 17th, Colonel Windham and his lady walked out to meet the royal party. Presently they saw approaching a pale and meanly dressed young man on horseback, with a portmanteau behind him. " Frank, how dost thou do ? " said the young man, when near enough ; whereupon the colonel instantly recognised his King, and kissed his hand with tears, and in silence.

They all then went into the house, where Charles was heartily welcomed, and shewn the means which were to be used for his concealment. Here, then, Miss Lane and Mr Lassels, knowing that their important charge was in safe keeping for the present, and that other means would be adopted for his future progress, took an affectionate leave of him, and returned into Staffordshire.

I may notice, before proceeding, that in December this year, Colonel and Miss Lane, having reason to fear the discovery of what they had done for the King, travelled in disguise to Yarmouth, and embarked there for France. "Miss Lane was conducted to Paris with great honour; the King himself, with the Queen his mother, and the Dukes of York and Gloucester, going out to meet her. Upon the first sight, his Majesty took her by the hand, and saluted her by this obliging term, 'Welcome, my life.' The French court also regarded her with much respect, together with her brother Colonel Lane, who accompanied her."¹ Miss Lane remained abroad till after the Restoration, and then, returning home, married Sir Clement Fisher, a distinguished cavalier, already mentioned in this narrative. Charles settled £1000 a year upon Lady Fisher; and gave her a gold watch, with a desire that it should go down in succession to the oldest daughter of the house of Lane in all time coming. Colonel Lane had £500 a year settled on him.

In Seward's anecdotes, the following letter is given, as written by Charles to Miss Lane, dated Paris, 23d November 1652, but where the lady was at the time is not stated:—"Mrs Lane,—I have hitherto deferred writing to you, in hope to be able to send you somewhat else besides a letter; and I believe it troubles me more that I cannot yet do so than it does you, though I do not take you to be in a good condition long to expect it."² The truth is, my necessities are greater than can be imagined, but I am pro-

¹ *Monarchy Reviewed*, p. 162. This book was originally written in 1661 (since reprinted), and dedicated to "Lady Jane Lane," by Francis Eglesfield.

² We may suppose from this, that Miss Lane was at that time as ill off for money as Charles himself.

mised they shall shortly be supplied. If they are, you shall be sure to receive a share ; for it is impossible that I can ever forget the great debt I owe you, which I hope I shall live to pay in a degree that is worthy of me. In the meantime, I am sure all who love me will be very kind to you, else I shall never think them so to your most affectionate friend. CHARLES R."

During the King's abode at Trent, he one day heard the parish church bells suddenly commence ringing ; and seeing from his window a crowd of people assembled in the churchyard, he sent a maid of the house to enquire into the cause of it. She presently returned to tell him, that one of Cromwell's troopers was addressing the mob, boasting that he had killed King Charles with his own hand at Worcester, and that the buff coat he then had on was the one he had stripped off him when dead ; and that the people were so overjoyed with this news, that they were ringing the parish church bells. " Alas ! poor people," was the only remark which the King made. This evidence of his unpopularity could not be very agreeable to him, even though he knew it to be founded in ignorance and delusion.

And now the question with the royal party was, how they were to procure a vessel to convey the King and Wilmot safely to France ? Lyme Regis was a small seaport about twenty miles from Trent. Thither Colonel Windham and his trusty servant Peters rode, one day, to get such information as might be useful in the furtherance of their design. At this port there lived a Colonel Gyles Strongways, a well known royalist. To him Colonel Windham went, in the first instance, thinking he might be of service to them ; and so he was, in one respect ; for, being told who it was that wanted his help, he sent him 300 gold pieces, regretting his inability to do more ; for his sentiments being well known in that neighbourhood, were he, he said, to be seen busy on the sea coast about engaging a vessel, it would excite suspicions, and so do the King harm rather than good. The gold was of great service to Charles, for he was utterly dependant on his friends for this necessary article ; and yet, from the disguise which he assumed,

he could not venture to carry more than a few shillings in his pocket at a time ; but Lord Wilmot acted as his treasurer, and kept the purse.

Colonel Windham next applied privately to another royalist, a Mr William Elsdon or Ellisdon, who lived in the same town of Lyme Regis. This application promised to be more successful than the former. Elsdon was well acquainted with the skipper of a bark of thirty tons belonging to that port, which had just returned from France. He went and asked him when he meant to make another voyage ? To which the latter answered, that he would make another as soon as he got a freight for his bark. The other asked again if he would carry two cavaliers to France, who did not wish their names to be known, for the consideration of £50, one-half to be paid down, and the other half after he had landed the gentlemen safely in France ? The skipper, whose name was Limbey, said he would have no objection, provided Mr Elsdon would so manage the matter, as not to bring him into any trouble, if the gentlemen had no pass to leave the country. To this Elsdon readily agreed, if he himself would meantime keep his secret, which he promised to do. Both Windham and Elsdon had afterwards a joint interview with the skipper, at which it was concluded that their friends should repair, on the morning of Monday the 22d, to a small maritime village, about a mile east from Lyme, called Charmouth, where there was an Inn, at which they could be accommodated for a few hours. The barque would leave Lyme harbour the same night, drop down to Charmouth, cast anchor opposite the village, and send her boat on shore ; and then, by keeping a good look out, and using caution, the two gentlemen could embark without much risk of discovery.

With this intelligence Colonel Windham hastened back to Trent, and communicated his arrangement to the King and Wilmot, who, having readily agreed to it, made preparations for their journey. As it was still thought advisable that Charles should appear in his former disguise, Colonel Windham gave him his niece Miss Julia Coningsby (afterwards Mrs Hixt) to ride behind him ; and being all

mounted, they set off together on Monday morning, and reached Charmouth the same night. The first thing that Henry Peters, did was to slip a piece of gold into the hands of the landlady of the Inn, whose favour it was thought advisable to secure, whispering to her, that the two young persons on the horse were a runaway couple enamoured of each other (the gentleman being disguised as a servant, to prevent discovery) going with a few of their friends to be privately married, because a stingy unfeeling old guardian, out of pure malice, was doing all he could to obstruct their wishes. The nature of the story, the gold, and the promise of more if she proved faithful, and the confidence implied in the communication to her of so important a secret, effectually won the landlady's concurrence in the plot, and she promised to do her best for the furtherance of their wishes. Here Colonel Windham left the party, and went to the house of Mr Elsdén, at Lyme, fully expecting to hear in the morning from his servant, that the King and Wilmot were safely embarked, and well on in their voyage to the opposite coast.

Charles, always mindful of those who rendered services to him, took this opportunity of sending Mr Elsdén a gold coin, with a ribbon, which passed through a hole he had made in it with his own hands, promising to do something better for him when he should have it in his power.

There were several travellers at the Charmouth Inn that night, besides the King and his companions, and therefore they were obliged to be content with what rooms they could get, not intending to occupy them long. Lord Wilmot and Peters went down several times in the course of the night to the beach, in search of the bark which was to meet them there, but were not a little mortified to find no appearance of it. They waited till near dawn, but still the vessel came not. At length they mounted their horses, and rode to Mr Elsdén's house, at Lyme, to inform him and Colonel Windham of the vessel's non-appearance. As soon as the Colonel heard this, without stopping to ascertain the cause, he set off with Peters to Charmouth, desiring Wilmot to follow him to the Inn at Bridport, four miles farther east,

to which place he meant to proceed with the King and his niece without loss of time. Elsdén, at the same moment, despatched a servant to the pier to make enquiry concerning the bark, who soon returned with the information that she was lying in her former position, but that he could neither see nor hear anything of the skipper. From all this, it appeared that either treachery, or a misunderstanding, or an accident, had occurred to thwart the whole design. Wilmot suspected Elsdén, and Elsdén suspected the skipper, but the mystery was soon cleared up.¹

The *wife* of the skipper had observed that, for some days past, her husband had been unusually reserved and thoughtful, and had conversed several times privately with his sailors; and he had informed her that he was going to sail that very night, when she knew that he had no freight on board. She therefore suspected that there was something dangerous going forward; and having in remembrance the proclamation, dated the 9th of the month, which had been made public at Lyme only within the last few days, regarding "Charles Stuart," and the fugitives from Worcester, she watched her opportunity; and, with the help of her two daughters, laid violent hands on her husband, and locked him up in his bed-room; threatening, if he attempted to stir without her consent, she would instantly give information of her suspicions to Captain Macy, who at that time had the command of a troop of horse in Lyme. Happily, the skipper submitted quietly to his imprisonment; for

¹ In what is called "Captain Alford's Narrative," the skipper is represented as refusing to move in the business, because Mr Elsdén (a traitor at heart, the author alleges) neglected to pay him the stipulated sum in advance. But the story in the "Boscobel Tracts," which I follow, is much more circumstantial, as well as more natural. Captain Alford was abroad at the time of Charles's escape, and his narrative is both inaccurate and defective.

"Colonel Gunter's Narrative," which bears all the marks of genuineness, relates to a subsequent period; but it is so clumsily drawn up, that the author, when speaking of himself, though he tells nothing but what he witnessed, sometimes uses the first person, and sometimes the third! In the various accounts, there are discrepancies which I do not attempt to reconcile or to particularise; but coming from different persons unconnected with each other, those discrepancies are not perhaps greater than might have been expected. Even the King, in his own "Account" of his adventures, occasionally forgets himself.

if he had acted otherwise, his wife might have carried her threat into execution, and this would probably have led to the discovery and apprehension of the strangers who were then impatiently expecting the arrival of the barque at Charmouth.

The skipper, when it was too late to keep his engagement with his employers, was set at liberty by his wife ; but so doubtful did she even then feel of his future behaviour, that, by her directions, the daughters followed him at a distance, as they observed him going towards the harbour, to watch whether he might not still entangle himself in difficulties !

But here we must leave the hen-pecked skipper and his family to settle their domestic differences among themselves as they best could ; and we may also reflect what *would* be their feelings when they learnt, as they soon must have learnt, for whose use their barque was on the eve of being engaged. All we are concerned to notice is, that the present opportunity of the King's escape to France by way of Lyme Regis was lost, and could not be recalled.

Meanwhile, he and his fair companion were waiting in anxious impatience at the Inn. Colonel Windham at length made his appearance, and advised, that as the skipper had, from some unknown cause, disappointed or deceived them, they should instantly leave Charmouth, and go on to Bridport, where Lord Wilmot was to join them. Accordingly, after settling with the landlady, and rewarding her for her civility, they left the Inn early in the morning of Tuesday the 23d of the month. And it was well they did ; for a new danger was springing up from another quarter, of which they knew nothing till they were happily out of its reach.

The parish church of this village, as was the case with all the churches of England in those distempered times, had been converted into a sort of politico-religious conventicle, to the duties of which any one was eligible, who had some little education, and a command of words, provided he made no use of the Prayer-Book, which was strictly proscribed, and did not preach against the republican govern-

ment. It happened that on the evening on which the King and his friends were at the Inn, the minister, whose name was Westley, and who had been a soldier, was edifying his Charmouth audience, by holding forth, with vehement gesticulation, on the sins of the royal family, and on the duty incumbent on all good men of assisting in discovering the son of the late King, and giving him up into the hands of justice ; which subject he had chosen for his discourse, because of the Proclamations, already adverted to, offering a reward of £1000 for seizing and delivering up the person of Charles Stewart, who had escaped from Worcester. While he was thus haranguing his audience in the church, some of the travellers at the Inn had sent for a farrier called Hammet, to shoe their horses ; which, when he had done, he, of his own accord, examined the feet of the other horses in the stable, and among them, Lord Wilmot's. After inspecting its shoes, he remarked to the hostler, that this horse must have travelled far lately, for it had shoes, as he knew from their shape, made in four different counties, one of which was Worcestershire. Leaving the Inn stable, the farrier wandered into the church, while the preacher was still declaiming against the royal adventurer. While listening, the thought occurred to him, that the horse, whose shoes he had been examining, might possibly belong to the adventurer in question. When the service was over, he communicated what had occurred, together with his suspicions, to some of his fellow-hearers, who agreed that he ought to lose no time in telling them to the minister. He proceeded accordingly to the house of the latter, who, very fortunately for the "adventurer," had begun his family devotions, which occupied an unusually long time. When he had finished, and had heard the farrier's story, he thought it too late to move farther in the business that night, especially as he was fatigued after the performance of his public and private duties. Next morning he was informed that the suspected persons had departed ; but still, resolving to investigate the matter, he repaired to the Inn, pondering in his mind as he went, what might be the best method of entrapping the hostess into a confession, supposing her to be privy to the

plot:—"Why now, Margaret," said he when he arrived, "You are a maid of honour!" "What mean you by that, Mr Parson?" replied Margaret tartly. "Why, Charles Stewart lay last night at your house, and kissed you at his departure; so that you must be a maid of honour." The woman then began to be very angry, and told him he was a scurvy ill-conditioned fellow, to go about to bring her and her house into trouble; "but if I thought it was the King, as you say it was, I should think the better of my lips all my life; so, Mr Parson, get you out of my house, or I'll find those that shall kick you out."

Digesting this rebuff as he best could, the preacher next went with the farrier to Mr Butler, a magistrate, who, having heard the story, treated it with indifference; not considering that the accidental circumstance of a Worcester shoe being found on a horse's foot, could warrant any just suspicion as to the person or character of its owner. They then reported the case to Captain Macy at Lyme, who was at first inclined to view it as the magistrate had done; but, after a little reflection, he changed his mind, and ordered twelve troopers to be got ready immediately, and to accompany him to the eastward. They first went to the Inn at Charmouth, and learning there that the strangers had departed, and had gone in the direction of Bridport, they galloped to that town in quest of them. All that could be learnt at Bridport was, that two gentlemen, a lady, and a man servant, had recently set out from thence on the road towards London. They therefore rode on as fast as possible in that direction; but, as will appear presently, the royal party, before being overtaken, had most providentially quitted that road, so that Captain Macy and his men, after proceeding as far as Dorchester, lost all traces of them, and gave up the pursuit in despair.

It may here be told, that the report of the King's being at or near Charmouth, became so general immediately after he left it, that the military quartered in that vicinity, received instructions to search the houses of all the neighbouring gentlemen who were suspected of loyalty. Among others, the house of Pilsdon, belonging to Sir Hugh Wind-

ham (the uncle of our Colonel), was twice examined. They took the old baronet, his lady, and daughters, and the whole family, and set a guard over them in the hall, while they searched every hole and corner where there was the least chance of any one being concealed. They even insisted that a young woman of the family was the King in disguise; and could hardly be dissuaded from offering violence to her person, in their determination to examine her.¹ But we must now return to the royal party.

When they entered Bridport, it was full of soldiers who were about to embark there for the purpose of taking the Isle of Jersey, which still held out for the King. Colonel Windham, alarmed at the presence of so many enemies, consulted Charles what should be done. His answer was, that he thought it the safest plan to put up at once at the best Inn, and go carelessly in among the soldiers, as if they feared nothing. Accordingly, when they reached the Red Lion Inn, "William," still mindful of his assumed character, took the two horses, and jostling through the yard, which was full of soldiers, led them to the stable, receiving some abuse from the men in passing, for pushing through them so rudely. In his own "Account," he says, "I alighted, and taking the horses, thought it the best way to go blundering in among them, and lead them through the middle of the soldiers into the stable, which I did, and they were very angry with me for my rudeness."

When he had taken off the bridles, he called to the hostler to bring oats for the horses. The latter, while so doing, looked the pretended William in the face, and said. "Sure, Sir, I should know you." This was no pleasant question for William, who, however, not losing his presence of mind, and wisely thinking it would be best to direct all enquiries from himself, began questioning the hostler what was his name—where he had lived—how long he had been at Bridport—how he liked his present situation, &c. The hostler answered all these questions very distinctly, and said, among other things, that he had served at an Inn at

¹ Nec ante dimitunt quam indubio experimento genuinum explorassent sexum. Elenchus, p. 256.

Exeter, kept by one Potter, "Oh, then," said William, "I must have seen you at Potter's, for I myself, when a boy, served a merchant who lived very near his Inn." The hostler was satisfied with this answer, and proposed that they should drink a pot of beer together. William excused himself, on the plea that he must wait on his master and mistress at dinner; but, he added, "we are just now on our way to London, and are to return this way in three weeks, when I shall hope to meet you again, and then we will have some drink together."

Lord Wilmot now rejoined the party, and, after due consultation, there seemed no remaining alternative for the present but that of returning to Trent, by the nearest and least frequented road. They set out accordingly when their horses were fed, and turned off to the left of the London road, about an hour before Captain Macy and his troopers reached that part of it. They now found it would be impossible for them to go farther that night than to a village called Broad Windsor. But here fresh difficulties and risks awaited them. When they arrived, the village inn was full of soldiers on their march to the sea coast, all the rooms were occupied, and the wife or follower of one of the troopers had just been confined there, which had caused the constable and overseers of the parish to come and investigate the case, through fear lest the mother and child should be left as a burden on their hands; so that, between the screams of the mother and infant, the squabbles of the parish officers, and the gruff voices of the soldiers, it may be conceived what kind of night the King and his suite passed. The tumult, however, had the effect of diverting attention from them; and early the following morning, which was Wednesday the 24th September, they proceeded on their road to Trent, where they once more found themselves in a place of comparative safety, but yet one which they could not expect to enjoy much longer.

Here the King was under the necessity of remaining till the 6th of October, in a state of painful anxiety, which was rendered the more so from his want of out-door exercise, and the uncertain state of affairs in the vicinity. To beguile

the time, and furnish himself with some employment, he commonly cooked his own victuals, at which he was an adept, in his private chamber.

The vigilance of his enemies had traced his route to the confines of Dorsetshire and Somersetshire, and every imaginable means were used to discover his retreat. On Sunday morning the 28th, a friendly tailor of the parish told Colonel Windham that it was rumoured that some person or persons of quality were secreted in his house, and that there was a talk of having it examined. The Colonel said that he had indeed one stranger staying with him (meaning Lord Wilmot, who still passed under the name of Mr Barlow), but he was so far from being secreted, that, if it would allay suspicion, he would bring him to church that very day. The tailor having recommended this step, the Colonel and his friend made their appearance in the family pew, which seemed to make a favourable impression on the people, for the Colonel himself, being a conscientious churchman, and not therefore in the practice of attending the ministrations of the sectarian preachers, they ascribed his coming on that Sunday to the influence of his stranger friend, of whom consequently they thought the more favourably, and thus there was no longer any mention of having the house searched.

The only other alarm the royal party experienced after their return to Trent, was from the arrival of a troop of horse at the adjacent village of Sherborne. It was reported that they were on their march to Trent; but, happily, instead of coming there, they proceeded to the sea coast.

All this time, various consultations were held, and enquiries made, with a view to the King's future movements, but without any positive result. It was at length determined to send Lord Wilmot and Henry Peters to Salisbury, to wait on Mr John Coventry (son of the late Lord Coventry), who was known to be both prudent and loyal, to ascertain what assistance he could give his Majesty, either in the way of advice, or in a supply of money, or in providing a vessel for him at some part of the sea coast in Hampshire or Dorsetshire.

Peters soon returned to Trent with the information that Lord Wilmot had been most favourably received by Mr Coventry, who had not only furnished a supply of money, but was willing to do anything he could for the King's protection and service. In this he was to be assisted by the advice and co-operation of the Rev. Dr Humphrey Henchman, who, we may remark here, had been prebendary of Salisbury Cathedral before the Rebellion, and was made Bishop of that See after his Majesty's Restoration. As soon as they and Wilmot had completed some definite arrangements, they were to send a special messenger to Trent to acquaint the King with them, and to obtain his concurrence in carrying them into execution.

On the first of October accordingly, there arrived at Trent Mr Coventry's chaplain, the Rev. John Tillock, with a letter carefully concealed on his person, addressed to Colonel Windham, intimating that it would not be safe for the King to embark at any of the ports of Hampshire, because of the great strictness with which passengers were there examined; and because, moreover, all the spare vessels on that coast had been seized to convey troops to Jersey; but that he should rather find his way to Sussex; and meanwhile, that it would be advisable for him to remove to Heale House, near Amesbury (three miles to the north of Salisbury), the abode of Mrs Mary Hyde, a gentlewoman entirely to be depended upon for her discretion and her loyalty.¹

Before this letter came, the King had written to a Col. Robert Philips of Montacute House (grandson of Sir Edward Philips, late Master of the Rolls), whose residence lay between Trent and Salisbury. This officer had served the late King with great zeal in the civil wars, and was well known for his devotion to the royal family. As soon as he received the King's letter, he came in person to offer his services in any way in which they might be thought useful.

It was now, therefore, settled that Colonel Philips, being well acquainted with that part of the country, should conduct the King to Mrs Hyde's house at Heale. Colonel

¹ This house and estate is in the parish of Woodford, in the vale of the river Avon, and now belongs to William Bewles, Esq.

Windham offered to accompany his Majesty, but this the latter would not permit; promising, however, to return to Trent in case of unforeseen danger. On the morning of the 6th October, Charles took an affectionate leave of this loyal family, and set off disguised as before, riding before Miss Coningsby, and followed by Henry Peters, who was to bring the young lady back after seeing the King safely deposited at Heale. They passed through Wincanton in the early part of the day; the town where, thirty-seven years after, an encounter took place between James II. and the Prince of Orange, just before the abdication of the former. In the course of the day, they met parties of soldiers who had been discharged from the public service, now that the civil war was nearly over. At one part of the road they passed through a whole regiment; and soon after, they met the parliamentary General Desborough, accompanied by three or four of his officers, who had slept at Salisbury the night before.

At Mere, a small town in Wiltshire, they stopped to dine. The landlord, Mr Christopher, was well known to Colonel Philips as a royalist at heart, though secretly, for fear of the republicans. He sat at the same table with his guests, as was customary in those times, and entertained them with the news of the day; which was chiefly that the men of Westminster (meaning the Parliamentarians), notwithstanding their victory at Worcester, were in great perplexity, from not knowing what was become of the young King; "but," he added, "it is the common opinion that he is gone to London, and many houses have been searched for him there;" at which the "young King" could not help smiling. After dinner the landlord asked him if he were a friend to Cæsar, to which he answered that he was most truly. "Then," said he, "here's a health to King Charles," a toast which, it is needless to say, both Charles and Col. Philips pledged him very cordially.

The party arrived safe at Heale the same night, and were received with the utmost hospitality by Mrs Hyde, who had been apprised of their coming, as well as of the rank of her principal guest. At supper, there were present,

besides those who had accompanied the King, Mr Frederick Hyde, the brother-in-law of the widow, who did not then know who William Jackson was ; also a sister of her's, and Dr Henchman, both of whom had been admitted into the secret. Though William sat at the lower end of the table, his loyal hostess could scarcely avoid carving for him first ; but she did not refrain from drinking to him, and " sending him a plate with two larks, when others got but one." This was imprudent, as it might have led to enquiries, and to dangerous consequences. When William retired to his chamber after supper, Mrs Hyde waited on him, and told him she had in her house a very safe place in which to conceal him if necessary ; " but," she added, " it will not be safe for your Majesty to trust any one here except Dr Henchman, my sister, and myself ; and my advice is, that you and Colonel Philips should take horse to-morrow morning, and make as if you were finally quitting the house ; but return when it is dark, and I will see that the servants and others are out of the way when you arrive." Dr Henchman next waited upon him, and had a long conversation with him concerning the projected plans for his quitting the country.

Next morning, the 7th, Charles and Colonel Philips, as recommended by Mrs Hyde, took their horses and rode as far as Stonehenge, which is three miles from Heale, where they spent the day in admiring the Druidical stones of that celebrated spot, and went back again to Heale at night. Charles was now installed into his new hiding-place, which he found larger and more convenient than those at Boscobel and Mosely. Here he remained six days in concealment, while his friends were busying themselves in devising means for his escape, Mrs Hyde and her sister assiduously attending him all that time, and Dr Henchman bringing to him such letters as were sent to him from Lord Wilmot.¹

But we must now leave the King at Heale, and follow the steps of his Lordship, who was using his utmost efforts to

¹ After the Restoration Colonel Windham and Miss Coningsby each received £1000, and Colonel Philips £400. I find no mention made of Peters, but it is to be hoped he was not forgotten, if then alive.

get his royal master and himself safely conveyed to France. For this purpose, he was obliged to entrust his important secret to several royalists in that neighbourhood. Mr Thomas Honslow of Burbout, in Hampshire, was one of these. This gentleman immediately communicated his knowledge of what was passing, to the Earl of Southampton, who was then at Lichfield, and had been one of Charles's council when he was Prince of Wales. The Earl, though unwilling to endanger the King, and perhaps himself, by going to him in person, expressed the utmost desire to serve him ; but, as it happened, the project which proved successful came from a different quarter.

Some timid royalists were applied to at this time, who declined giving any aid to the King, through fear of the consequences to themselves. Their names are not mentioned ; but the author of "Boscobel" says that "his Majesty sent to some subjects for relief and assistance in this his great necessity, who, out of a pusillanimous fear of the bloody arch-rebels, durst not own him."

Another royalist, to whom Lord Wilmot applied for help, was a Mr Laurence Hyde, who was then living at his house of Hinton Daubeney, near Catherington, which is not far from the coast of Hampshire. This gentleman said he could do little personally ; but he offered the use of his house, which, as we shall see presently, was made available for the King's service ; and he rendered a still more important service, by recommending his neighbours, Colonel Gunter and his cousin Captain Gunter (who had both served the late king in the civil war, and now resided at Racton, between Hinton Daubeney and Chichester,) as gentlemen who were both able and willing to assist his Majesty.

I must here pause to say a few words respecting these Gunters, who, it will be seen, took an active part, especially the former, in contributing to the King's escape. The parliamentary authorities, though professing great toleration, used every endeavour to suppress loyalty in politics and episcopacy in religion, because they saw plainly that these two were closely allied, and that the united principle, when fully carried out, could not but be fatal to their usurped

authority. They therefore punished, both by fine and imprisonment, all who offended them in these particulars ; and, among the many thousands who suffered in this respect from their tyranny, were the two cousins just mentioned. Colonel Gunter, in particular, the more zealous and indefatigable of the two, had been, some time before this, subjected to the vexatious restraint of not being allowed to go more than five miles from his own house of Racton, on pain of imprisonment ; and, only a week before our notice of him begins, he had received a summons to appear before certain Commissioners in London, in order to have an arbitrary fine imposed on him as a Royalist ; and, failing obedience to this command, his property was to be sequestered. At first, he tried to evade this summons, on the plea that he had been previously forbidden to go so far from his home as London ; but this objection being overruled, he went, and was assessed in the sum of £200. However, on representing to the Commissioners the reduced state of his finances, he succeeded, though not without difficulty, in persuading them to accept of only one-half of this sum ; and even that he was obliged to borrow. But another, and, as the event proved, a much more important concession he obtained from them was, the withdrawal of the order to confine himself within five miles of his house ; for thus he was providentially enabled to take measures for the King's escape, which he could not otherwise have done ; though, at the time, neither the Commissioners, nor he himself, had any notion that he was to make this use of his recovered liberty.

It so happened that, in the early part of the same day on which the Colonel returned home from London (which was the 7th October) Lord Wilmot, who still called himself Mr Barlow, had come to his house with a letter to him from Mr Laurence Hyde, already mentioned. Though the Colonel had not yet returned, his lordship determined to wait for him, being informed by Mrs Gunter that he was expected that evening. Towards evening, Mr Gunter arrived ; of which, when his lady was apprised, she went to the door of the house to meet him as he alighted from his horse ; and after welcoming him home, told him that a Mr Barlow

had that day come to see him on some urgent business, which he would not communicate to her, or to any one but himself. When he entered the parlour, he instantly recognised Lord Wilmot, whom he had often seen with the late king's army. The latter, perceiving that he was known, whispered to him, "I see you know me, but do not own me." Of course, nothing more of a private nature passed between them, at the time; but, after supper, the Colonel proposed to Mr Barlow to shew him to his bed-room. When there, the latter introduced the subject which was uppermost in his breast—"The King of England, your master and mine, and the master of all good Englishmen, is near you, and in great distress: can you help us to a boat?" The Colonel looked surprised and anxious, and after a pause answered, "Is he well? is he safe?" Lord Wilmot said he had every reason to believe that he was then in a safe place; "because," rejoined the Colonel, "if he be not, I think I could find the means of concealing him till a boat could be found for his service." Lord Wilmot then told him, among other particulars, of their late unsuccessful attempt to escape by way of Lyme Regis, and of the safe hands in which he had recently left the King; and having settled what should be done on the morrow, and extended their conversation to a late hour, they bade each other good night; his Lordship first "hugging the Colonel in his arms, and kissing his cheek again and again," in token of the satisfaction he felt in his acquaintance, and the confidence he reposed in him.

When Mr Gunter retired to his bed-room, he found his wife sitting up for him, whose curiosity had been much excited by the appearance and manner of the stranger, and the mysterious whispering she had observed to pass between him and her husband; and she now earnestly desired to know the meaning of it. The Colonel begged she would excuse him for that night at least, as it was an affair which did not personally concern her, nor was he then at liberty to speak of it to any one. This only sharpened her desire the more to know the secret; and she even began to cry, declaring she was sure there was some mischief hanging over them, of which it was his duty to inform her. The

Colonel, without saying more, took up a candle, and returning to Lord Wilmot, informed him of his wife's passionate anxiety to know who he was, and the cause of his coming ; adding, that though he was confident of her fidelity, he would not entrust her with their secret without his permission. " By all means acquaint her with it," said his Lordship ; which accordingly the Colonel did on his return to her ; nor had he any reason afterwards to repent of having done so, though she expressed great fears as to the final success of their undertaking. He also imparted the secret, on the following day, to his cousin Captain Gunter, whose co-operation would be required in furthering the plans for the King's escape.

On the next morning, the 8th, Colonel Gunter rode to Emsworth, a fishing town near Racton, to make enquiry respecting a boat ; but he could hear of nothing that afforded promise of success and safety. On his return home, he met Lord Wilmot by the way, who, impatient for information, had come out in quest of him. They then rode on together to another small sea-port, Longstone, not far from Emsworth, to make farther search, but were again disappointed. Here it was thought expedient for the two friends to separate for the present. Lord Wilmot returned to Hinton Daubeny, and Colonel Gunter went back to his own house. The latter, after arriving there, dispatched Captain Gunter, and a Mr Rishton who had served with him in the late war, on the same errand, to a different part of the coast, appointing to meet them at Chichester the next day. Meantime, the Colonel went to Hinton Daubeny to confer farther with Lord Wilmot ; and that evening turning out wet and stormy, his Lordship and Mr Hyde importuned him to remain all night ; but he, remarking that delays might be dangerous, left them, and returned home, after promising that he would let Lord Wilmot know, once a-day at least, what progress he was making in the pursuit of his object. He did not arrive at home till a late hour ; and taking only a short rest, he rose early next morning, Thursday the 9th, and went to Chichester, where he met his cousin and Mr Rishton ; and learnt from them, to his sorrow, that after

all the enquiry they could make respecting a boat, they had not succeeded in their attempt to procure one.

The Colonel now bethought him of a Mr Mansell, a French merchant in Chichester, who, though not himself an owner of boats, was in the practice of freighting them, when he needed them for his mercantile transactions with France. Colonel Gunter was not personally known to this merchant, but he called on him notwithstanding. Mr Mansell received him courteously, and entertained him with a bottle of French wine, and Spanish tobacco. After some general conversation, the Colonel told him that he had not come to visit him as a mere piece of ceremony, but to do a little business with him, and to request his assistance in a matter which very much concerned himself and some of his friends. The merchant having replied that he would be happy to serve him, Colonel Gunter proceeded to tell him, in confidence, that two particular friends of his had been unfortunately engaged in a duel; that mischief had been done; and that they were desirous of getting out of the country into France as soon as possible, if a vessel could be secretly hired to carry them there. Mr Mansell said he knew of a vessel which was then at Brighthelmston (Brighton), of about sixty tons burden, which he thought could be procured for this purpose. The Colonel promised him £50 for himself, and £60 for the freight of the vessel, if he would undertake and expedite the business, which, in consideration of so liberal an offer, he readily engaged to do; and before parting, it was fixed that they should go together the very next day to Brighton, where they would see the skipper, whose name was Feversfield,¹ and endeavour to settle with him the time of embarking, and other particulars.

The same day, Colonel Gunter went to Mr Hyde's, and reported to Lord Wilmot what he had done, and what he meant to do on the following day. The weather being still boisterous, and his horse fatigued, Mr Hyde lent him a fresh one of his own, which carried him to Racton that night. He did not take much more sleep than he had done

¹ In some of the accounts, this skipper is named Tattershall.

the previous night ; but got up early in the morning of Friday the 10th, and rode to Chichester, to keep his appointment with Mr Mansell. Finding him in readiness, he dispatched his cousin to Lord Wilmot, to acquaint him with the farther progress of the business in hand, and to say that he might expect soon to hear from him again. He and Mr Mansell then left Chichester, and by 2 o'clock they reached Brighton, which, at that time, was little more than a fishing village.

Mansell made enquiry for the skipper, and, to his mortification, learnt that he had sailed only a few hours before for Poole in Dorsetshire, with a cargo of coals ; but hearing, at the same time, that owing to a contrary wind, he had got no farther than Shoreham, four miles to the westward, where his vessel was then lying at anchor, he dispatched a messenger with a letter to him, requesting him to come immediately to Brighton, as he had something of importance to say to him. Providentially the letter reached him, and he came back as desired. Mansell and Colonel Gunter then made him the offer of £60, and all his expenses besides, the whole to be paid before sailing, if, before going to Poole, he would receive on board at Shoreham, within three days, two gentlemen, then in that neighbourhood, who were desirous, for reasons of their own, of finding their way to France as speedily and as secretly as possible. In short, the bargain was made, secrecy promised, and the arrangements concluded to the satisfaction of all the parties concerned ; both the skipper and Mansell engaging to remain where they were, and to have every thing in readiness by the time the Colonel should return with his two friends.

Next day, Saturday the 11th, Colonel Gunter went back to Hinton Daubeney, to acquaint Lord Wilmot with what he had done. He reached that place by 9 o'clock the same night, and there had the satisfaction to find not only Lord Wilmot, but Colonel Philips also, who had been sent that very day by the King from Heale, to gather and carry back to him such news as he could learn. All were much pleased with Colonel Gunter's account of the arrangements

he had made at Brighton ; and Colonel Philips was so overjoyed, that he said to him, " thou shalt be a saint in my calendar for ever."

It was now settled that Colonel Philips should return next day to Heale House, to announce the news to the King ; and he was desired, at the same time, to propose this farther arrangement to his Majesty. There is a place called Humbledon, about forty miles from Heale, in the direction of Brighton ; at which place, there resided at this time, the sister of Colonel Gunter and her husband, a Mr and Mrs Symons. At Humbledon, the two Gunters and Lord Wilmot engaged they would meet the King and Colonel Philips on the Monday ; and that meanwhile, they would prepare the Symonses for receiving and accommodating the whole party, if his Majesty should prefer passing the night there, to going on to Hinton Daubeney, where, at any rate, Mr Hyde would be in readiness to receive him.

Colonel Philips accordingly went the next day, Sunday the 12th, to Heale ; and when he had communicated his information and his plan to his Majesty, Dr Henchman, and the ladies, it seemed to them all so unobjectionable and feasible, that they agreed to it at once.

Early, therefore, on the morning of Monday the 13th, the King, after taking leave of his faithful hostess and her sister, quitted the house of Heale, accompanied by Colonel Philips and Dr Henchman. They went three miles on foot, as far as Clarendon Park Corner. Charles was still disguised in his former grey suit ; and the party was followed by two or three greyhounds, as if setting out solely for the amusement of coursing. At the above place, his Majesty and his companion bade adieu to Dr Henchman ; and mounting horses, which were waiting for them, rode without stopping till they came to a place called Broadhalfpenny, which is very near Humbledon. Here they met Lord Wilmot and Colonel Gunter, who had ridden so far to meet them, with a brace of greyhounds. After some private conference, his Majesty said to the Colonel, " Canst thou get me a lodging hereabouts ?" The Colonel told him that Mr Hyde's house

was prepared for him, which was only a little farther on ; “ but whether,” says the narrative, “ his Majesty thought it too public a place, or for what other reason, I know not, but he said, ‘ know you no other ? ’ ‘ Yes, may it please your Majesty,’ replied the Colonel, ‘ I know divers yeomanly men where, for a night, we may be welcome ; and here is one who married my sister, whose house stands privately, and out of the way.’ ‘ Let us go thither,’ said the King,” and they went there accordingly.

Both the Symonses were royalists, but it had not been thought expedient to let them into the King’s secret, as there was no need to tell this to more persons than was absolutely necessary. It happened that Mr Symons was from home at this time, and consequently was ignorant of the arrangement that had been made respecting his house ; but Mrs Symons received her brother and his friends very cordially, and put them into a room with a good fire, in which there was wine, biscuits, and ale, till supper should be got ready for them. In about an hour, supper was brought in, to which they all sat down at a round table, without distinction of rank. In the middle of supper, Mr Symons unexpectedly made his appearance, who, says the narrative, “ plainly appeared to have been in company that day.” He was naturally surprised to see a large party seated round his table, and the more so, as it included some whose faces he had never seen before. “ This is brave ! ” he exclaimed, “ a man can no sooner be out of the way, but his house must be taken up with I know not whom ; ” and then walking round the table, and viewing the company, when he came to his brother-in-law, “ Is it you ? ” he said, “ you are welcome.” He next looked at the King, whose hair had not yet recovered from the effects of William Penderill’s scissors—“ here is a roundhead,” he said ; “ Colonel Gunter, I never knew you to keep company with roundheads before.” “ No matter,” replied the Colonel, “ he is my friend, and I assure you, no dangerous man.” Upon this, Mr Symons, sitting down in the chair next to the King, and taking his hand, said to him, “ brother round-head, for his sake thou art welcome,” evidently tak-

ing him for what he seemed. The King very good humouredly went into the joke, and sustained his part to the admiration of all who were in his secret. He even reproved Mr Symons once or twice for swearing, the better, perhaps, to keep up his assumed character. Their host treated all his guests with great hospitality ; but plied them so hard with drink, that the King and some of the others, in order to avoid taking too much, were obliged to pass their glasses on to one of their companions, and have their contents otherwise disposed of, unobserved by their entertainer.

It was now ten o'clock at night, and the King and Colonel Philips being fatigued with their long journey, and the former having to ride nearly as far the next day, they were desirous of going to bed ; but the difficulty was to withdraw from the boisterous hospitality of their landlord. At length, a plan occurred to Colonel Gunter. He whispered to him that Jackson, though a good fellow enough, yet being somewhat of a precise roundhead, and a check upon their mirth, if he would get him and his friend Philips to go to bed, they could then carry on their joviality as long as they liked. Mr Symons readily acquiesced in this proposal ; both the King and Colonel Philips were allowed to retire to the bed-room which had been prepared for them ; and the rest of the party soon after found some plausible pretext for following their example.

The King and his friends slept soundly ; but, knowing how much depended on their being on the alert, they got up by break of day, and, after an early breakfast, set off on their journey before Mr Symons was awake ; his Majesty first taking leave of Colonel Philips, whose services would no longer be necessary, since Colonel Gunter, who was well acquainted with that part of the country, was to take his place, and do his utmost to conduct the fugitives in safety to Brighton and Shoreham.

When they were passing by the castle on Arundel Hill, they saw its governor, Captain Morly, in the act of setting out for the chase. They could not avoid passing close by this parliamentary officer and his followers, but fortunately without attracting their observation. The King being told

by Colonel Gunter who he was, remarked, "I did not like his starched mouchates." They next stopped at the ale-house of a village on the road, called Houghton, where, without alighting from their horses, they got some bread and drink; and ate with much relish a couple of neat's tongues, which their conductor had brought with him from Humbledon.

The next place they came to was Bramber, by which time it was three o'clock in the afternoon. The town was full of soldiers, both horse and foot, who had arrived the night before; and as the royal party came upon them unexpectedly, there seemed no possibility of avoiding them. Lord Wilmot's first impulse, being naturally timid, and not disguised, was to go back; but Colonel Gunter said, "if you do, you are undone; let us go on boldly, and we shall not be suspected." "He saith well," rejoined the King, who, it was often remarked, shewed more presence of mind, and less concern for himself, than was felt by those who accompanied him. Colonel Gunter went first, the two others followed, and thus they passed through the town and the troops unmolested.

But they had not gone much farther when a new danger threatened them. Hearing the sound of horses feet behind them, they looked back, and saw thirty or forty dragoons riding after them at considerable speed. This was certainly alarming, and Lord Wilmot began to despair; but they agreed to slacken their pace till the supposed enemy came up. The dragoons very soon overtook them; and the road on in which they were riding being narrow, and the parliamentary soldiers far from civil, they nearly unhorsed the royal party by their rude and rapid manner of passing them. But this indignity they willingly excused, after they had seen them fairly past, and disappear in the distance.

The next village they arrived at was Beeding, where Colonel Gunter had engaged the use of a house belonging to a Mr Bagshal, in which the King and Lord Wilmot might remain safe for a few hours, while he should go on by himself to Brighton, to see if Mr Mansell and the skipper were there, and in readiness. But Lord Wilmot posi-

tively refused to agree to this proposal, through fear of again falling in with the dragoons, who had lately passed them; and took the King with him, by an unfrequented path, in the direction of Brighton, while Colonel Gunter went on by the main road; first agreeing to meet again at the George Inn of the place.

Colonel Gunter was the first to reach the Inn; and having got possession of a good room, and ordered supper, he went out in quest of Mr Mansell and the skipper, whom he soon found, and invited them to sup with him and his two friends. His friends soon after arrived safely at the Inn, and were shewn by the landlord, whose name was Smith, into a room adjoining the Colonel's. Presently one of them was overheard to say to the other, "Here Mr Barlow, I drink to your health." "I should know that voice," said Colonel Gunter to the landlord, who had just then came into his room; and going to them, saluted them, in his hearing, as old acquaintances, who had just met for the first time, after a long separation. The Colonel then insisted on their joining him at supper, as his room was better than theirs, to which they, of course, offered no objections.

In a short time the Chichester merchant and the skipper made their appearance. They all five sat down to supper, and were waited upon by Mr Smith himself. During the meal, the skipper looked repeatedly and earnestly at the King. When it was over, he took Colonel Gunter aside, and told him that he had not dealt fairly with him; for though he had promised him a good price for carrying these gentlemen to France, yet he had not offered him enough for so important a service; "for," added he, "one of them is King Charles II., and I know him to be so; for he took my boat, along with others, off Brighton, three years ago, when he had command of the Channel fleet, and afterwards kindly let us go again;¹ but be not troubled, for I think I do God and my country good service in preserving my

¹ This was when part of the Channel fleet had revolted from the parliament, and put itself under the command of Charles, then Prince of Wales and his brother, the Duke of York.

King ; and, by the grace of God, I will venture my life and all for him, and set him safely on shore, if I can, in France."

Though Colonel Gunter could not but be gratified with these expressions of devotedness to the King, on the part of the skipper, yet he felt greatly alarmed at his being discovered by one of whose real character he, at this time, knew nothing ; and therefore he immediately reported what had passed to his Majesty, who, as he had always done under like circumstances, determined to let the skipper into his confidence at once, which he did accordingly, and received his promise of secrecy. But fearing, if he allowed him to go away, he might be tempted to divulge the secret, or behave as the Lyme skipper had done on a former occasion, he was kept where he was, smoking tobacco and drinking beer, till the hour fixed for their departure.

Here Charles ran one more risk. Mr Smith, the inn-keeper, had formerly been servant to a gentleman of the court, and had seen the prince when a boy ; so that he began to suspect who William Jackson might be, partly from his being manifestly a young gentleman in disguise, partly from the deference paid to him by Colonel Gunter, who was a well known royalist, and partly also from knowing that the King was still in the country, and would naturally come to a sea-port for the purpose of embarking. He had that evening drank somewhat too freely ; and after supper, when the said William was standing with his back to the fire, and the rest of the company were out of the room, he came up to him, and began conversing with him. He then fell on his knees, and kissing the King's hand, which was on the back of a chair, said, " God bless you, sir, wherever you go ; it shall not be said but that I have this day kissed the best man's hand in England. I do not doubt, before I die, to be a lord, and my wife a lady." The King laughed and quitted the room ; but, on consideration, he thought it best to secure this man's confidence by trusting him, as he had trusted the skipper, which he did ; and notwithstanding his inebriety and loquacity, he had no reason to doubt his fidelity.

These unexpected discoveries, however, of the King by

strangers, and perhaps some other unknown circumstance, caused it to be soon rumoured that his Majesty was concealed in that neighbourhood; so that it became evident to all concerned that no time was to be lost in putting his person out of danger. In point of fact, so much was this rumour believed, that a search was made for him by the public authorities at Brighton the very day after his embarkation!

The vessel was at this time lying dry, during the ebb tide, in a creek at Shoreham. The skipper now began to think that, considering the importance of the personage he was about to take on board, he might fairly look for more than the sum he had stipulated for, and told Colonel Gunter that he expected he would at least insure his vessel, which he valued at £200, against the risk of seizure, in the event of his being discovered. The Colonel thinking this was no more than what was reasonable, consented to it; "but," added Mr Feversfield, "I must have your bond for it." To this the Colonel made objections; and the King, who was present, remarking that "a gentleman's word was as good as his bond, especially when given before witnesses," the skipper gave up his demand, on the understanding that he was to be farther remunerated for his service, should his Majesty ever be fortunate enough to recover his kingdom.

The King and Lord Wilmot now lay down in their clothes for about two hours; and the Colonel coming to call them at four o'clock in the morning of Wednesday the 15th, the whole party got ready, mounted their horses, and set out for Shoreham, Mr Feversfield being taken on a horse behind one of them. When they arrived, the sea had not returned sufficiently to surround the vessel, so that the two fugitives, after taking an affectionate leave of their friend, to whom they were under such strong obligations, got on board by means of a ladder, and then descended into the little cabin to wait the flowing of the tide. In about two hours more, the vessel was afloat; and the wind, which before was contrary, being now favourable, they were soon under sail, and had fairly escaped out of England.

“ Thus,” says Dr Bate, “ did Charles escape out of the snares of his inveterate foes, whose life, unless Heaven had defended it, would have been destroyed a hundred times. For when we consider that, though he passed through ten different counties of England—through the hands of so many persons of the lowest rank, and the most opposite creeds—of so many women, who find it difficult to keep a secret—of so many men, who knew they would suffer severely if discovered concealing him—so many persons, in short, of broken fortune, to whom a reward could not have been otherwise than tempting ; and yet, that he was betrayed by none of them, the Hand that protected him was manifestly Divine ; and this alone may teach all men, by undoubted testimony, the arrogance of those rebels who claimed Providence to be with *them*, and how dear to God is the safety of his anointed.”

To this I will only add that, had Charles seen and acknowledged the Divine Hand which so remarkably delivered him from his rebellious subjects ; had he deeply repented of the falsehood, hypocrisy, and perjury which he practised when in Scotland ; had he profited by his subsequent misfortunes ; and, when restored to his throne, had he evinced his gratitude to God by the piety and purity of his after life, his own destiny, and that of his successors, would probably have been very different from what they were.

OUTLINE
OF
CHARLES THE SECOND'S LIFE,
AFTER HIS ESCAPE OUT OF ENGLAND, TILL HIS
RESTORATION.

THOUGH the vessel in which the King and Lord Wilmot had embarked, was hired for their use, yet, as was said, she had on board a cargo of coal for Poole in Dorsetshire, towards which port it was the skipper's intention to steer, in the first instance; and when he had got to a certain distance, to stand across the Channel for the French coast. But this he could not well do, without giving his crew some plausible pretext for it. He therefore requested of his two passengers that, by some contrivance, they would obtain his mens' concurrence to his landing them in France, before sailing for Poole. The King, in his own "Account," describes this scene graphically enough:—"As we were sailing, the master came to me, and desired that I would persuade his men to use their endeavours with me to get him to set us on shore in France, the better to cover him from any suspicion thereof. Upon which, I went to the men, who were four and a boy, and told them truly that we were two merchants that had some misfortunes, and were a little in debt; that we had money owing to us at Rouen in France, and were afraid of being arrested in England; that if they would persuade the master (the wind being then very fair), to give us a trip over to Dieppe, or one of those ports near Rouen, they would oblige us very much; and with that, I gave them twenty shillings to drink. Upon which, they undertook to second me, if I would propose it to the mas-

ter. So I went to the master, and told him our condition, and that if he would give us a trip over to France, we would give him some consideration for it. Upon which, he counterfeited difficulty, saying it would hinder his voyage. But his men, as they had promised me, joined their persuasions to ours, and at last he yielded to set us over."

This difficulty being overcome, instead of sailing any farther east, they put their helm about, and steered right across the channel for the coast of Normandy. Early on the following morning, they found themselves opposite Fécamp, a small sea-port between Dieppe and Havre. But the wind coming suddenly round, when they were within two miles of the town, they were obliged to come to an anchor, till the tide should turn and help them on again.

While lying there, they observed at a distance a bark coming down towards them, which they took for an Ostend privateer. Ostend was then situated in the Spanish Netherlands; and Spain being at this time at war with France, the privateer would not probably have scrupled to seize even an English vessel trading on the French coast. The apprehension of this alarmed the fugitives, and induced them to prefer landing at Fécamp, in a small boat, to incurring the risk of being examined, and perhaps plundered, and possibly even landed again in England. The skipper, concurring in this view of the matter, sent them on shore in his boat, on the morning of Thursday the 16th of October. The supposed privateer turned out to be only a French hoy, which would have done them no injury.

Before leaving the skipper, Charles gave him a pass, in case he should, on his return, fall in with any of the armed vessels belonging to Jersey, which still acknowledged his sovereignty. But no sooner had the King landed, than a violent gale sprung up from the land, which obliged the skipper to cut his cable and stand out to sea; and he made so rapid a passage to Poole, that no one knew he had sailed out of his proper course, excepting those who were with him. He afterwards claimed, and received from Colonel Gunter £8, which he estimated to be the value of the anchor and cable he had lost.

This person, after his Majesty's Restoration, was made a captain in the Royal Navy. He brought his vessel into the Thames, and anchored her opposite Whitehall, where she lay for several months, and was visited by multitudes, in consequence of the fortunate service she had rendered to the King of England.

All the day of their landing the King and Wilmot spent at Fécamp, and next day they proceeded to Rouen, at the chief Inn of which they could not obtain admission, on account of their shabby and suspicious appearance, till Charles sent for an English merchant who lived there, to whom he made himself known. "The next day," says the King himself, "we got to Rouen to an Inn, one of the best in the town, in the Fishmarket, where they made difficulty to receive us; taking us, by our clothes, to be some thieves, or persons that had done some very ill thing, until Mr Sandburn, a merchant, for whom I sent, came and answered for us." This merchant also supplied them with money, of which they were much in want. At Rouen they stayed two days, procuring a change of dress, and writing to their friends in England and at Paris. Mr Sandburn received from Charles the grey cloth disguise he had worn when in England, which he ever after preserved as carefully as if they had been the relics of a saint. Dr Earl, his former sub-tutor, and afterwards Bishop of Worcester, was staying at Rouen at this time; and as soon as he heard of the King's arrival there, hastened to pay his respects to him; but so much was his pupil altered in appearance, that the bishop, mistaking him at first for one of the servants of the hotel, asked him where the King was! But discovering his error immediately, he fell down upon his knees, and atoned for his inadvertence by the most cordial congratulations on his happy deliverance out of the hands of his enemies. This clergyman afterwards accompanied the King as his chaplain.

As soon as the Duke of York heard of the arrival of his brother at Rouen, he sent his coach, with Lord Gerard and others of his suite, to wait upon him. On the 29th of Octo-

ber,¹ his Majesty set out from Rouen on his way to Paris, and slept that night at Fleury. Next morning the Duke met him at Magnie. The same evening, at Monceaux, he was welcomed by his mother the Queen, with her brother the Duke Orleans, and a great number of English and French noblemen on horseback, who accompanied him to Paris.

As we have had recourse to *Mademoiselle de Montpensier's* autobiography for some account of Charles, previous to his departure from France, so we will again quote from the same lively and truly French writer, a farther account of him, after his return to the same country. But in the following account which our authoress gives of his adventures, subsequent to the battle of Worcester, though professing to give what she had heard from himself, the reader of the foregoing narrative will detect several inaccuracies; affording a specimen of that carelessness which narrators of facts are apt to fall into, unless they pay a scrupulous attention to details.—

“He had raised a considerable army in England—one twice as powerful as that of the enemy; and yet, by I know not what ill fortune, which has followed him in every thing up to this hour, he was defeated, totally routed, and obliged to fly. The news of this disaster reached the Queen, his mother, at Paris. Every one went to console her, but this only augmented her grief, for she knew not if her son were a prisoner or dead. This anxiety did not last long. She learned that he was at Rouen, and would soon be in Paris, upon which she went to meet him. I had not gone out for some time, having a swelled face; but I thought, on this occasion, it was indispensable to do so, and I paid her a visit next day, though my hair was undressed. She said to me, ‘You will find my son looking very ridiculous; for, to save himself, he was compelled to cut off his hair, and to assume a disguise of an extraordinary kind.’ At that moment he entered the room, and I really thought he had a very fine figure, and was looking much better than before

¹ New Style, which was then used on the Continent, but had not yet been adopted in Great Britain.

his departure ; although he had little hair, and a great deal of beard, which affect the appearance of most people. I found that he now spoke French tolerably well ; and he related how, after having lost the battle, he had passed with a party of forty or fifty horsemen through the enemy's army, and through the city near which the conflict had taken place. He had then dismissed the cavaliers, remaining with only a single lord. They had been for a long time in a tree, and afterwards in the house of a peasant, where, in order to prevent his being known, he had cut off his hair. A gentleman, whom he had recognised upon the road, had taken him to his house, where he remained for some time. The brother of this gentleman had carried him on horseback, riding behind him *en croupe*, to London, where he remained for a night, sleeping during ten hours with the greatest tranquillity. He had then taken boat from London to the port from whence he had embarked ; and thus, although recognised by the captain of the vessel, he had arrived at Dieppe " (! !).

" He conducted me home by the gallery which I mentioned at the commencement of these memoirs, leading from the Louvre to the Tuileries. On the way, he spoke of nothing but the miserable life he had led in Scotland, where there was not a woman to be seen ; and the barbarism of the men such, that they thought it a sin to listen to the violin ; hence, he added, he was so dispirited and *ennuyé*, that he had felt the loss of the battle less severely, from the hope he had of returning to France, where he found so many charms in persons for whom he had the greatest regard."

" By all he said to me, he appeared a timid lover, who did not venture to say all he felt for me ; and who preferred that I should think him unconcerned about his misfortunes, rather than trouble me with the recital of them. To others he did not speak of the joy he felt at being in France, nor of his passion for the dance. He no longer gave me any annoyance, as he had done before, which you may perceive from the favourable account I have given of what he said to me, though in bad enough French. At his second visit, he

begged of me to let him hear my band of violinists, which was reckoned particularly good. I sent for them, and we danced; and as the swelled face I have mentioned obliged me to keep the house all that winter, he came every other day to visit me, and we danced. All the youth and beauty of Paris came to our parties, but he paid no court to any one except me. The Queen was not at Paris, and Madame had such uncertain health, that she had no taste for the world, or any amusements. Our assemblies began at five or six o'clock in the evening, and finished at nine. The Queen of England often came to them. One evening she surprised me by coming to supper, bringing with her the King her son, and the Duke of York. Though my table was as good as her own, all the royal tables being very much alike, yet I was vexed that I could not give her a better entertainment. After supper we played at little games; and this led to the resolution to continue these amusements, and to divide the time between dancing and playing. The King of England assumed the behaviour which lovers are said to assume. He shewed me great deference, looked at me incessantly, and did all he could to amuse me. He said soft things (*des douceurs*) to me, as every one told me who overheard him; and spoke such good French when so employed, that all were forced to admit that love more properly belongs to the French language than to any other. When the King spoke my language, he forgot his own, and never wholly left off the use of the latter, but when with me."

"One day the Queen of England came to speak to me about the marriage of her son, saying that the footing on which she and he had always been with me, would not allow them to speak to Monsieur (the lady's father) on this subject, without knowing if it were agreeable to me; that when the King was in a more prosperous condition, he had made the proposal to Monsieur, in the belief that it would not be unacceptable to me; but now that so much of my fortune was at my own disposal, he proposed depending on my generosity rather than Monsieur's. I replied that I felt so contented with my present condition, that I had no

desire to change it ; but, at any rate, I would require some time to think on the subject. She said she would give me eight days to make up my mind ; but hoped I would consider that, though married, I should still be mistress of my own fortune ; that the King could live, with his suite, on the pension he received from the French court and his friends in England ; that he had still numerous supporters in his own country ; that several German princes had promised him succours ; that I should be a Queen, and one of the happiest persons in the world, &c.” “ Not long after this, the Queen came again to me and said, my niece, I have heard that there is some prospect of your being married to the King (meaning, of France, who was seven years younger than herself) ; my son and I would never think of preventing such an alliance, which is much better for you than becoming Queen of England, and therefore we will not press you any farther for the present on this point ; only promise, that should that prospect not be realised, you will think favourably of our proposal. I replied, that I had not before heard of what she had just mentioned, but that I had no objection to her speaking to Monsieur about my marriage. My Lord Jermyn, who was both the Queen's and her son's adviser, came frequently to converse with me about this. Soon after, the Queen sent him to tell me that she was going to the Luxembourg to converse with Monsieur on the subject. To this I agreed, as I had done before ; and certainly it was very kind in her not to do this without first telling me. I afterwards went myself to Monsieur, who told me both what the Queen had said to him, and what he had said to her ; namely, that I was not altogether at my own disposal ; that I was the property of France, and that nothing could be done in regard to my marriage without the King of France's consent. I told him I was very glad he had given such an answer, because, in the condition England then was, I could have no satisfaction in being Queen of it. When I reached home, the King of England came to me. He imagined that the matter had been settled in his favour, as he had not anticipated any obstacle on the part of Monsieur. Accordingly, he said

many gallant things to me about the greater desire than ever which he now felt to recover his dominions, because I should partake of his good fortune along with him. I told him, that unless he went there himself, I thought it would be difficult for him to recover what he had lost. What ! he asked, would you have me leave you immediately after I am married to you ? Yes, I said, because I should then be more interested in your prosperity than I am now ; and I should be sorry to see you dancing triolets, and amusing yourself, when you ought to resolve upon your having your head either crowned or cracked. I added, that I thought he would be unworthy of his throne, if he did not go in quest of it, at the point of the sword, and at the risk of his life.¹ Madame d'Epéron, who greatly desired our marriage, was pleased to find that we thus talked together on the subject. I was not very well at this time. The King came to see me, and often sent to make inquiries concerning me. But I was in no haste to bring this matter to a conclusion, and I recommenced giving my balls as formerly."

" The Dowager-Countess of Fiesque had a great regard for the King of England, and said to me that I must make him a Catholic. Indeed, she incessantly entreated me to speak to him about this, and once I did so. His answer was, that he would do anything for my sake ; but that before sacrificing his conscience for me, I must conclude the affair he had so often spoken to me about. The Duchess d'Aiguillon, niece of the late Cardinal Richelieu, who was very devout, and nevertheless a great courtier, urged me extremely to promise that I would marry him, on the condition that he would become a Catholic ; saying that I was under a sacred obligation to do so, and that I should be answerable to God if I did not. My Lord Montague came to visit the Countess de Fiesque ; and these two

¹ This was a noble proposal on the part of Mademoiselle, had she acted up to it ; but the implied reproach of Charles was unjust, because he had already done his utmost for the recovery of his dominions, and was ready to do the same again, whenever a favourable opportunity offered. It would have been madness to rush headlong into danger without a hope of success.

came to me, to discover how my inclination lay, and engaged me in this business in such a way that I could scarcely resist their importunity. I saw from this, that the court wished for the marriage, in order to injure Monsieur, by giving him an alliance which could be of no advantage to him. I spoke of this to M. Goulas at the Luxembourg, and he promised to call on me some morning soon and converse with me about it. The same day there was a comedy at my house, and the King of England came to it. I said nothing to him about the marriage, at which he was offended. I shewed no concern at this, and the consequence was, that for several days he did not come near me; after which, my Lord Jermyn asked an audience of me. I told him he might come the next morning; and it so happened, that when he came, M. Goulas was with me in my cabinet. When Jermyn was told this, he refused to come in, but waited till I was at liberty. Goulas meanwhile shewed me the wretched condition I should be in, when Queen of England; that though I had great wealth, yet I had not enough for such an enterprise as the recovery of that kingdom; that when the King had sold the whole of my property, and, after all, failed in his undertaking, I might die of hunger; or, if he died first, I should be the most miserable Queen in the world; that I must, in that case, live at the expense of Monsieur, instead of being able to assist him;¹ that the frequent visits of the King of England, and the attentions he publicly paid me, might have a bad effect in foreign courts, by hindering other princes from proposing to me; and that, in short, I ought immediately to break off this connexion."

"After Goulas had withdrawn, Jermyn came in. I have no doubt, he said, that our proposal has succeeded, for M. Goulas is an able advocate. I told him that the King of England did me much honour, but his affairs were not then in a condition to bring the matter to a favourable conclusion; and that I should be obliged by his not coming so often to visit me, because every one remarked it, and that

¹ Mademoiselle had inherited her large fortune through her mother; and her own father Monsieur was so poor, that she was obliged to support him.

did me no good. He was surprised, and said all he could to make me change my purpose, but I would not yield. After that, the King was three weeks without seeing me, and I believe that vexed and annoyed him. He had now very few amusements, and people saw that mine did not consist in conversing with him. My assemblies were more frequented, and quite as gay as when he attended them; since many came to them who did not come before, because they had not the honour of his acquaintance. On those days when I gave a dance, Madame d'Epéron gave one at her house to the King; and thus they tried to persuade themselves that they could be happy without me."

In this manner was the intercourse between the two lovers, if they could be so called, broken off for ever; but I may here remark, that the lady tells her readers, in a subsequent part of her *Memoirs* (the truth of which, however, I cannot help doubting), that after the King had recovered his throne, he desired his mother to make her an offer, once more, of his hand; but that she declined it, on the plea that as she had refused him in his adversity, she would not accept him in his prosperity, lest the world might accuse her of acting from selfish motives. Mademoiselle, after numerous matrimonial intrigues, privately married, at the age of forty-two, an obscure French count, who made her very unhappy by his ill-treatment of her—thus affording another of the many examples with which history abounds, that our punishment, in this life, commonly corresponds to the nature of the offence we have previously committed.

The accomplished biographer of Queen Henrietta Maria remarks, concerning Charles, after his escape from England, that, "all the high heroic sentiments derived from the classics, all the noble romance of youth, which usually brings forth fruits in manhood, were obliterated by his visit to his native land." And for this he had, no doubt, in a great manner to thank those whose rigid demeanour, and tedious lectures, had imposed an unnatural check on the buoyancy of his youth; and whose incessant reflections on the sins of

his parents and his ancestors, not only excited in him a disgust both to them and their religion, but, it may be feared, to all religion ; seeing that they, in a manner, forced him to profess what he never could believe, to conform to what he abhorred, and to subscribe documents which every one now admits were repugnant to all good feeling ; the result of which was, that, when emancipated from this restraint, he became, in a great measure, reckless and dissolute. This was deeply lamented by his best friends ; and by none so much as those great men, Hyde, Nicholas, and Ormond, who in vain endeavoured to check the voluptuous tendencies of their Sovereign, whom, notwithstanding, they knew it to be their duty to honour and obey.

Nor was Charles's temporal condition, during his exile, any better than his moral. He was allowed only £5000 a-year by the French government for his expenses, which sum, though it had been regularly paid, which it was not, was little enough for himself, and wholly inadequate for the establishment which he was obliged to support. Soon after his arrival at Paris, he created his friend Lord Wilmot, Earl of Rochester ; and sent him, as his representative, to the Diet of Ratisbon, for the purpose of soliciting a grant of money from the German Princes there assembled. A grant was voted to him, which would have been handsome, had it all been paid ; but Lord Rochester received only a small part of it ; and from that he had to deduct his own expenses, which were considerable, so that little remained for the King.

During his stay in Paris, the French Protestants endeavoured to prevail on him to attend their places of worship, on the ground that he was a " Protestant " like themselves ; but he very properly told them, that the Church of England differed as widely from them as it did from the Romanists ; and he reminded them, moreover, that however they might condemn, as they did condemn, the murder of his father, they had, like the Scotch and English Presbyterians, done every thing in their power to dethrone him, and to aid his rebellious subjects, by taking part with them

in overthrowing that very church with which they now claimed affinity.

In the beginning of the year 1654, the Princess of Orange came to Paris to visit her brother Charles; but as France had, by this time, made an alliance with England, and as an English Ambassador had arrived at the French Court, it was hinted to the King, that it would be desirable if he would withdraw from his present residence; which he was himself the more inclined to do, as it was not very agreeable for him to be continually encountering Cromwell's representative. Accordingly, he and his sister went, in the month of June that year, to Spa, where they spent the ensuing summer.

After this, Charles went to Cologne, where he lived two years, and where a hospitable widow received him into her house, and lodged him gratuitously. While in that town, he sent Lord Rochester secretly into England, by the desire of the royalist party there, to aid them in exciting an insurrection in his favour; and in order to be at hand to second their efforts by his presence, if necessary, he himself took up his abode at Zealand; but though Cromwell was at this time making himself odious to almost all parties except the military, the threatened insurrection ended rather in injuring than in benefiting the cause of royalty.¹

In April 1657, the King removed with his little court to Bruges, in Spanish Flanders, in virtue of a treaty which he had recently made with Spain; and here he was joined by his brothers the Dukes of York and Gloucester. Bruges being near the British coast, many of his subjects came

¹ From Cologne Charles wrote numerous letters to Sir Henry Bennet (afterwards Earl of Arlington), which are printed at the end of a small volume, entitled, "An Account of the Preservation of Charles II. after the Battle of Worcester, drawn up by himself." The letters relate chiefly to matters of business, but interesting facts are occasionally alluded to. There is a letter to General Monk, which is curious, as connected with the part which that officer was soon to take in the Restoration. Monk was an able and successful soldier; but he had no more truth, consistency, and humanity, than served his own ends; so that, looking at the character of *the restorer of the monarchy*, and the character of the *restored monarch*, one might, even then, have augured, that what had begun ill, could scarcely be expected to end well.

there to him. These he formed into four regiments, which he put under the commands, respectively, of the Marquis of Ormond, and the Lords Rochester, Wentworth, and Newburgh; and placed them at the disposal of Spain, which was then at war with Cromwell. At the same time, he relinquished the pension which he had hitherto drawn from France, and accepted one of the same amount from Spain. The Spaniards would not allow the King to hazard his person in their campaigns, which he had volunteered to do; but they accepted the services of his two brothers, who both distinguished themselves in the battle which arose out of an attempt on their part, to raise the siege of Dunkirk.

While Charles was at Bruges, he received communications from various bodies of the sectaries in England, expressive of their desire for his return, on certain conditions; and soliciting what aid he could give them against Cromwell, whom they now dreaded, or detested. But though, in his answers to them, he encouraged this feeling towards the usurper, he refused to commit himself by relying too implicitly on their professions; and told them that, situated as all parties then were, they could do much more for him, than he could do for them.

In the Spring of 1658, Charles removed with his household to Brussels; and, in the month of August, to a village near Breda called Hockstraten; but receiving intelligence of Cromwell's death in the following month, he immediately returned to Brussels.

This important event roused the English royalists to make another effort for the restoration of their King; who, in order to be as near them as possible, went to Calais in the beginning of 1659; and afterwards to Brittany, opposite that part of England, where his supporters were most numerous. But finding that nothing could yet be attempted with any prospect of success, he resolved on taking a journey, with some of his nobles, to St Jean de Luz, where a treaty of peace was then being organised between France and Spain, that he might try to obtain some assistance, or

promise of support, from one or both of these nations. His journey was, however, to little purpose. He received strong professions of regard from both, but nothing that he could depend upon, except a present of 7000 gold pistoles. He returned therefore to Brussels in December.

Meanwhile, important events were going forward in Great Britain. That country was so completely subject to a military despotism, that any party which could count on the support of the army, or rather of the strongest division of it, was sure of success. General Lambert, an Independent, who commanded the main body of the army in England, growing jealous of the "Rump" Parliament, put it down by force, and established his own supremacy upon its ruins. Richard Cromwell, the son and successor of Oliver, vacillating between the army and the Parliament, fell, despised by both. The citizens of London took part with the Parliament, as did General Monk, who commanded the army in Scotland. Monk was a quasi-Presbyterian, but "whose creed was of that description which easily adjusts itself to worldly circumstances." He immediately began his march for the south, and crossed the Tweed at Coldstream, on the 1st of January 1660; having previously proclaimed to the Scots, that "he had a call from God and his people" to go to England for a time; that, in his absence, they were to "encourage the godly ministry;" and "hold no intercourse with any of Charles Stewart's adherents." Monk's approach alarmed Lambert, who marched north to meet and confer with him; but most of his men deserted to his opponent, and he himself was ultimately seized and committed to the Tower. Monk now declared himself for the calling of a free and full parliament, to the great dismay of the members of the "Rump," who naturally desired to retain all the power they then possessed. Writs were accordingly issued for the new Parliament to assemble in the month of April. But Monk, seeing in the meantime, that the members chosen by the electors were, for the most part, royalists, he began to think seriously of the restoration of the lawful King; and sent Sir John Greenville (afterwards

Earl of Bath) secretly to Brussels, to ascertain on what terms he would consent to be replaced on the throne? Charles, with the advice and assistance of his Chancellor, addressed very judicious letters to Monk himself, to the two Houses of Parliament (though the Lords had been long suppressed), and to the Lord Mayor and Council of London. In these, he cautiously avoided all details, but promised to be guided, in his conduct, by the opinions and advice of the new Parliament. These letters, when divulged in London, were most favourably received, and replies, full of loyalty, returned to them. The result was, that, without any conditions, Charles was proclaimed King on the 8th of May, to the inexpressible joy of an overwhelming majority of the nation. Never was there a reaction so sudden, so unexpected, and so complete. Accompanied by his royal brothers, the King proceeded to the Hague, where he was received with the utmost enthusiasm by the Dutch. In a few days, the English fleet, consisting of twenty men-of-war, arrived at Scheveling, bringing deputations from the Houses of Lords and Commons, and from the citizens of London, who came to give him a formal invitation to his dominions; and to make the very acceptable present of £50,000 to himself, £10,000 to the Duke of York, and £5000 to the Duke of Gloucester. After a few days spent at the Hague amidst incessant festivities, the King and his suite embarked, on the 24th of May, on board the fleet, which was now commanded by the Duke of York, the legal Lord High Admiral of England. During the passage home, the names of the ships were converted from rebellious or republican, into royalist ones; that in which the King sailed being changed from "the Naseby" into "the Royal Charles." On Saturday the 26th, his Majesty landed at Dover, where he was welcomed, among others, by General Monk, whom he soon after created Duke of Albemarle, and Earl of Torrington, Knight of the Garter, Master of the Horse, and a Privy Counsellor, besides bestowing on him a large pension. He passed the Sunday at Canterbury, in the cathedral of which, public thanks were offered

up for his restoration. On Monday he proceeded to Rochester; and on Wednesday, the 29th of May, being the thirtieth anniversary of his birth-day, he re-entered his Metropolis, amidst the roaring of a thousand cannons, the pealing of innumerable bells, and the deafening acclamations of the multitude.



EDINBURGH: PRINTED BY MACPHERSON & SYME,
12 S. ST DAVID STREET.

INDEX OF NAMES.

- Abernethie Andrew, Lieutenant, 162.
 Airlie, Earl of, 103, 104, 115.
 Anderson, Andrew, a schoolmaster, 42.
 Andrews, Thomas, 207.
 Angus, Lord, 148.
 Argyll, Marquis of, 14, 34, 37, 38, 40, 43, 49, 67, 87, 97, 98, 123, 149, 154, 155, 157-159, 164-166, 170, 179, 183, 189, 193, 203, 205.
 Ashenhurst, Colonel, 232.
 Athol, Earl of, 115, 116, 164, 187.
 Augustine, a Dutchman, 129.
 Baillie, Principal, 51, 156, 183.
 Balcarras, Lord, 104, 123, 171, 187, 196, 208, 210.
 Balfour, Sir James, Lord-Lyon, 49, 57, 154, 155.
 Bate, Dr, 175, 192, 285.
 Bennet, Henry, 44, 110, 115, 297.
 ——— Rev. David, 137, 160, 161, 167, 168.
 Bickerton, Adjutant-General, 83.
 Binning, Rev. Hugh, 7, 134.
 Blacket, Sir W., 209.
 Blague, Colonel, 225, 228.
 Blair, Rev. Robert, 42, 43, 124, 125, 146, 161, 171, 177, 197.
 Blount, Sir Walter, 219.
 Boyd, Rev. Zachary, 133-135.
 Bradshaw, President, 207, 217.
 Bramhall, Bishop, 23.
 Brechin, Lord, 149.
 Broadway, Captain, 238.
 Brodie, Alexander, of Brodie, 1, 26, 27, 34.
 Brown, General Sir John, 99, 114, 115, 188, 195.
 Buccleuch, Earl of, 43.
 Buchan, Earl of, 104, 115.
 Buckingham, Duke of, 18, 23, 34, 37, 57, 103, 110, 111, 165, 189, 215, 221, 225, 228, 241.
 Burleigh, Lord, 57, 180, 181, 190.
 Burnet, Bishop, 37, 47.
 Byron, Lord, 44.
 Callender, Earl of, 16, 20, 44, 206.
 Canne, Mr John, 88, 93, 94.
 Cant, Rev. Andrew, 43, 117, 125, 134, 196, 198.
 Capel, Lord, xiii.
 Carlis, Major, 236, 237, 239, 240, 241.
 Carnegie, Lord, 139, 149.
 Carnwath, Earl of, 20, 49, 50, 52, 224.
 Carstairs, Rev. John, 185.
 Cassillis, Earl of, 1, 25-27, 34, 49, 96.
 Charles I., King, xiii., xvi., xvii., 3, 13, 31, 44, 52, 125, 127, 134, 144, 150, 153, 217.
 Charles II., King, *passim*. See Contents.
 Charteris, Captain, 36.
 Chiesley, Sir John, 43, 49, 67, 123, 137.
 Choisy, Madame de, xv.
 Christopher, Mr, 270.
 Cibber, Colonel, 223.
 Clare, Sir Ralf, 219.
 Cleveland, Earl of, 23, 99, 100, 224, 228, 241.
 Cockburn, Sir W., 153.
 ——— Colonel, 170.
 Cole, Mr Andrew, 104.
 Colepepper, Lord, xiii., xvii.
 Coningsby, Miss, 257, 260, 270.
 Cook, Mr John, 207.
 Coventry, Mr John, 268, 269.
 Cowley, Mr Abra., 44, 46, 110, 115, 116.
 Cranston, Lord, 184, 187, 224.
 Crawford-Lindsay, Earl of, 43, 104, 139, 140, 141, 149, 154, 155, 164, 171, 187, 206.
 Crofts, Mr, 210.
 Cromwell, Oliver, xvii., 8, 10, 44, 46, 50, 54-56, 59-61, 63, 66, 67, 69, 72, 76, 77, 80-83, 86, 87, 89, 91, 92, 96, 100, 105, 110-112, 118, 119, 129, 134-137, 142, 143, 147, 159, 160, 162, 163, 164, 170, 175, 177, 180, 183, 185-187, 192-196, 199, 200, 202-204, 206, 207, 213, 217, 219, 220, 222-224, 228, 229, 231, 246, 297-299.
 ——— Richard, 299.
 Crosby, Rev. Mr, 218.
 Culross, Lady, 69.
 Cunningham, Sir Charles, 224.
 Cuthie, George, 5.
 D'Aiguillon, Duchess, 293.
 Dalrymple, Mr James, 1, 22, 25, 32.
 Dalzell, Sir R., 23.
 ——— General, 221.
 Darcey, Colonel, 99, 225.
 D'Epemnon, Madame, 293, 295.
 Derby, Earl of, 51, 175, 184, 213, 216, 225-228, 238.
 Dickson, Rev. David, 43, 68, 69.
 Digby, Mr, 124.
 Don, John, 27.
 Douglas, Marquis & Marchioness of, 11.
 ——— Earl of, 74.
 ——— Sir Joseph, xvii.
 ——— Sir John, 222.
 ——— Sir William, 83.
 ——— Mr David, 42.

- Douglas, Rev. Robert, xxiv., 14, 31, 65, 150, 157, 161, 185, 196, 197, 200.
 Drummond, Lord, 149, 187.
 Dudhope, Viscount, 41, 103, 115.
 Dundas, Walter, 162.
 Dunfermline, Earl of, 16, 20, 23, 38, 57, 105, 114, 170, 187.
 Duppa, Bishop Brian, xiii.
 Durham, Rev. James, 43, 67, 105, 185, 186, 190.
 Dury, James, 11.
 Dysart, Lady, 228.

 Earl, Dr, xiii., 288.
 Eglinton, Earl of, 39, 61, 67, 104, 134, 149, 170, 182-184.
 ——— Lady, 59.
 Elizabeth, Princess, 88.
 Elsdon, Mr, 260-262.
 Empson, Lieutenant, 59.
 Errol, Earl of, 187.
 Erskine, Lord, 149, 187.
 ——— Sir Charles, 105.
 ——— Arthur, 32.

 Fairfax, General, xvi., 192.
 Fanshawe, Sir Richard, xiii., 166, 224, 229, 230.
 ——— Lady, 166, 229.
 Farquhar, Sir Robert, 35.
 Fenwick, Colonel, 53, 170.
 Ferguson, Rev. J., 169.
 Feversfield, Mr, 276, 282, 284, 286, 287.
 Feversham, Mr, 188.
 Fiesque, Countess of, 293.
 Fisher, Sir Clement, 251, 258.
 Fleetwood, General, 217, 219-221.
 Forbes, Lord, 187.
 ——— Sir Alexander, 221, 222.
 Fortescue, Sir F., 99.
 Fraser, Dr, 23, 37, 116.

 Geddes, Janet, 37.
 Georges, Rev. Dr, 252-254.
 Gerard, Lord, 79, 288.
 Gifford, Mr, 217, 226, 227, 232, 234.
 Gillespie, Edward, 25, 27.
 ——— Rev. P., 67, 68, 70, 117, 169, 186, 197-199.
 Gives, a tailor, 220.
 Gloucester, Duke of, 258, 297, 300.
 Goff, Colonel, 80.
 ——— Dr, 24.
 Gordon, Catharine, Mary and Jean, 11.
 ——— Colonel, N., 42.
 ——— Colonel, 83.
 Goulas, Mons., 294.
 Govan, William, 162.
 Gowan, Rev. Mr, 89.
 Grandison, Lord, 221, 224.
 Greenville, Sir John, 102, 175, 299.
 ——— Sir Richard, 102.
 Gunter, Captain, 272, 275.
 ——— Colonel, 273-284, 287.
 Guthrie, Captain, 42.
 ——— Rev. James, 42, 43, 63, 65, 67, 101, 116-118, 127, 137, 160-162, 167-169, 186, 197-199.
 Gyles, Colonel Strangways, 259.

 Haliburton, Rev. George, 57.
 Halket, Sir James, 84.
 Hamilton, Duke of, 16, 18, 20, 23, 37, 38, 43, 44, 50, 52, 58, 62, 68, 75, 76, 101, 161, 164-166, 170, 179, 181, 183, 187, 189, 191, 193, 205-207, 210, 214, 221.
 ——— Rev. Mr, 89.
 Hammond, Dr Henry, 219.
 Harden, Mr, 38.
 Harding, Mr, 24.
 Harrison, General, 206, 211-213, 217.
 Haselrigg, Sir Arthur, 52, 53, 84.
 Henchman, Dr Humphry, 269, 271, 278.
 Henderson, Sir John, 175.
 Henrietta Maria, Queen, xiii., xiv., xxiv., 240, 289, 291, 292.
 Hertford, Marquis of, xiii., 79.
 Hinton, Mr, 102.
 Hobbes, Thomas, xiii.
 Hodgson, Captain, 77.
 Holborn, General, 195.
 Home, Lord, 187.
 Honeyman, Rev. Andrew, 42, 109.
 Hope, Sir John, 162.
 Hopton, Lord, xiii., xvii.
 Huddelston, Priest, 233, 236, 239, 240-249.
 Humble, Laird of, 123.
 Huntly, Marquis of, 103, 105, 115, 116, 163, 164, 187, 204, 206.
 Hutchinson, Mr, 1, 20, 26, 27, 32, 43, 67.
 Hyde, Sir Ed., Chancellor, xiii. xvii. 296, 300.
 ——— Mrs, 269, 270.
 ——— Mr Lawrence, 272, 273, 275, 276, 278.

 Inglis, Captain, 210.
 Ireton, Henry, 207.

 Jaffray, Alexander, I, 13, 26, 27, 28, 30, 34, 82.
 James, I., 74.
 ——— II., 74.
 ——— III., 74.
 ——— IV., 74.
 ——— V., 74.
 ——— VI., 74, 144, 147, 150, 153, 157.
 ——— VII., 249.
 Jermyn, Lord, xviii.-xxi., 255, 292, 294.
 Johnstone, Sir A. of Warriston, 43, 49, 65, 67, 123, 179.
 ——— Lord, 149.
 ——— Major, 162.

 Keith, Colonel George, 220, 221.
 Kelly, Earl of, 164, 187, 224.
 Kenmuir, Lord, 224.
 Ker, Colonel, 64, 86, 119, 132, 133, 135.
 King, Very Rev. John, 28.
 Knox, John, 75, 147, 150.

- Lambert, General, 59, 77, 82, 132, 186,
194, 195, 206, 213, 214, 217, 299.
Lane, Colonel, 236, 239, 243, 246, 247,
249-252, 257, 258.
— Miss, 249, 253-258.
Langdale, Sir M., 23.
Lassels, Cornet, 249, 250, 252, 255, 258.
Lauderdale, Earl of, xvii., 16, 20, 23, 38,
43, 44, 104, 108, 139, 140, 170, 183,
184, 208-211, 225, 228.
Legge, Colonel, 97, 224, 225.
Leighton, Rev. Robert, 10.
Lesley, General, 54, 57, 61, 67, 76-78,
82, 89, 90, 112, 114, 115, 117-119, 125,
127, 132, 133, 135, 137, 183, 188, 193,
207, 214, 215, 220-223, 225-229.
Leven, Earl of, 54, 188, 206.
Lilbourne, Colonel, 216.
Linthgow, Earl of, 139, 187.
Lisens, Mr Thomas, 218.
Livingstone, Rev. John, 1, 16-20, 22, 23,
25, 26, 29-32, 41, 43, 51, 117, 200.
Liviston, Lord, 225, 228.
Long, Mr Robert, 17, 18, 20, 28, 38, 99,
102, 116.
Lorne, Lord, 39, 40, 67, 84.
Lothian, Earl of, 1, 14, 18, 25-28, 34,
65, 67, 96, 105, 123, 159, 170, 181.
Loudon, Earl of, Chancellor, 14, 99, 105,
107, 115, 125, 155, 157, 160, 167, 180-
181.
Louis XIV., King, xiv., xviii.-xx., 292.
Low, Rev. Mr, 89.
Lumsden, Colonel, 83.
— General Sir James, 83.
Lundie, Sir James, 108.
Macgill, Rev. James, 140.
Mackline, Lord, 149.
Mackworth, Colonel, 214.
Macy, Captain, 262, 265, 267.
Mansell, Mr, 276, 277, 281, 282.
Marischall, Earl, 103, 116, 148, 149, 152,
154, 155, 187.
Mary, Queen of Scots, 42, 74.
Massey, General, xvii., 164, 188, 213,
219, 220, 224.
Mein, Mr, 159.
Melville, Andrew, 75.
Menzie, Rev. Mr, 197.
Middleton, General, 103, 109, 113, 115,
116, 162-164, 168, 220, 224.
— Sir Thomas, 215.
Monk, General, 53, 158, 170, 191, 206,
207, 297, 299, 300.
Monmouth, Duke of, 35, 51.
Monsieur, Duke of Orleans, xiv., xx.,
291, 292, 294.
Montague, Lord, 293.
Montgomery, Lord, 139, 149, 184.
— Colonel, afterwards, Ge-
neral, 60, 104-106, 131, 132, 188, 220,
221, 224.
Montpensier, Mademoiselle de, xiv., xv.,
xviii.-xxiv., 289, 295.
Montrose, Marquis of, xvii., xxiv., 3, 5,
9, 11, 21, 25, 28, 35, 52, 54, 58, 62, 127,
174, 179, 181, 182.
Moss, Mr, 159.
Mowat, Mr, 169.
Murray, Miss Anne, 57, 84.
Musgrave, Sir Philip, 99, 183.
Nasmyth, Rev. James, 199.
Newbottle, Lord, 149.
Newburgh, Lord, 170, 298.
Newcastle, Marquis of, xiii., 18.
Nicholas, Sir Ed., xvii., 16, 71, 79, 162,
164, 175, 296.
Norton, Mrs, 249, 252-254, 256.
Ogan, Colonel, 209.
Ogilvie, Lord, 103, 104, 114, 115, 187.
— Sir David, 114.
— John, 11.
O'Neil, Daniel, 109, 211.
Orange, Prince of, xvi., xx., xxiv., 16, 20,
25, 79, 89, 110.
Ormond, Marquis, of, xvii., 16, 17, 28,
68, 71, 109, 124, 125, 162, 164, 166,
175, 296, 298.
— Princess of, 297.
Oudart, Mr, 79, 102.
Overton, Colonel, 195.
Owen, Rev. Dr, 7, 83, 90.
Packington, Sir John, 219, 224.
Paul, St. Lord, 99.
Penderill, brothers, 217, 227, 232-241,
243, 246, 247.
Perron, Lord, xviii.
Peters, Henry, 257, 259, 261, 268-270.
Petre, Mr and Mrs, 249, 251.
Philips, Colonel, 269-271, 277, 278, 280.
Pittscottie, Colonel, 221, 224.
Poke, Mr John, 89.
Pope, the, 20, 22.
Pope, a butler, 253-267.
Popham, Admiral, 26.
Porterfield, Professor, and Mrs, 187.
Progers, Mr, 99, 116.
Purvis, Dr, 89.
Ramsay, Lord, 149.
— Rev. Robert, 185.
Rich, Colonel, 204, 206, 213.
Richmond, Duke of, xiii.
Rodes, Mr, 104.
Rogers, Mr, 24, 37.
Rollock, Rev. Mr, 162.
Rothes, Earl of, 43, 187, 223, 224.
Roxburgh, Earl of, 78.
Rupert, Prince, 19, 21.
Rutherford, Rev. Samuel, 42, 64, 65, 86,
119, 134, 161, 197, 198.
Sandburn, Mr, 288.
Sanders, Colonel, 204.
Scone, Lord, 147.
Scott, Sir J., 50.

- Scott, Sir Walter, 51.
 Scougall, Mr, 109.
 Scrimgeour, Hugh, 42.
 Seaforth, Lord, 115, 139.
 Seaton, Sir James, 170.
 Seymour, Mr Henry, 24, 37, 72, 73.
 Sharp, Rev. James, 161.
 Simson, Rev. Mr, 199.
 Sinclair, Lord, 23, 115, 224.
 Smith, Sir John, 1, 26, 28, 34.
 ——— Mr, 282, 283.
 ——— Rev. Mr, 89.
 Southal, a "priest-catcher," 243.
 Southampton, Earl of, xiii. 272.
 Spotswood, Sir Robert, 42, 171.
 Spynie, Lord, 224.
 Stappleton, an English preacher, 96.
 Stevenson, Mr Andrew, 27.
 Strachan, Colonel, 54, 60, 119, 132, 162.
 Strickland, Sir W., 187.
 Sutherland, Earl of, 206.
 Swinton, Sir John, 67, 162.
 Sydenham, Major, 184.
 Symons, Mr and Mrs, 278-280.
 Talbot, Lord, 219, 225, 228.
 Throgmorton, Sir W., 187.
 Tildesby, Sir Thomas, 216.
 Tillock, Rev. John, 269.
 Trail, Rev. Mr, 89.
 Tromp, Admiral Van, 25.
 Trotter, Mr Robert, 89.
 Turner, Sir Jas., 133, 139, 207, 208, 224.
 Tweeddale, Earl of, 67, 129.
 Twisden, Mrs, 102.
 Vane, Sir Henry, 231.
 Villaneuffe, Marquis of, 99.
 Walker, Sir Edward, 23, 38, 99, 100,
 102, 109, 116.
 Wallace, Colonel, 39.
 Walters, Lucy, 35.
 Walton, Izaak, 228.
 Wandross, General, 188, 224.
 Warwick, Earl of, xvi.
 Watt, a tenant, 129.
 Webster, Mr, 26.
 Wemyss, Earl of, 43, 68, 206.
 Wentworth, Lord, xvii., 16, 23, 38, 99,
 100, 210, 298.
 Westley, a preacher, 264, 265.
 Whalley, Colonel, 59.
 White, Major, 80.
 Whitgrave, Mr, 233, 266, 269, 241-244,
 246.
 Widderington, Lord, 23, 99, 100, 216.
 Wigton, Lady, 69.
 Wilford, Captain, 61.
 Wilmot, Lord, (Earl of Rochester), xvii.,
 23, 38, 99, 100, 103, 110, 111, 223, 225,
 227, 232, 236, 239, 240-244, 246, 249,
 250, 251, 255-257, 260, 261, 263, 264,
 267-269, 271-278, 281, 284, 286, 288,
 296-298.
 Windham, Colonel, 256, 257, 259-263,
 266, 268, 269.
 ——— Sir Hugh, 265.
 ——— Mr Thomas, 104.
 Winram, George, of Libberton, 1, 18,
 19, 26-28, 34, 68, 82.
 Wolf, Mr, 234, 235, 242.
 Wood, Rev. James, 1, 26, 49, 96, 109,
 160, 161.
 Wright, Dr, 192.
 Yester, Lord, 149.
 York, Duke of, xiii., xvi., xxiii., 57, 79,
 125, 248, 258, 282, 289, 291, 297, 300.
 Young, Rev. Robert, 180.

CORRIGENDA.

These are more than the author could have wished, owing chiefly to his distance from Edinburgh.

- Page 7, line 32, *transpose for to the end of sentence.*
 .. 18, .. 3, *dele from One to end of the paragraph.*
 .. 40, .. 8, *dele of*
 .. 67, .. 3, *dele last sentence of paragraph.*
 .. 68, bot. line, *for him read Charles*
 .. 162, .. 22, *for Alexander Hope read Sir Alexander Hope*
 .. 236, .. 29, *for have read hear*
 .. 274, .. 28, *for Mr Gunter read Colonel Gunter*







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